

**Institute of Education
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**NGOs' Intervention in Vocational Education
for Vulnerable Young People's Employment
and Empowerment in Cambodia**

By

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I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Abstract

This research is an attempt to explore what constitutes effectiveness (in managerial and pedagogic terms) of NGOs' intervention in vocational education (VE) for employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people in the Cambodian urban context. The Thesis starts with the real-life issues pertaining to the educational, economic and socio-cultural vulnerability of young people in Cambodia; and the latter in turn has led to greater NGO intervention in vocational education as an alternative response to the ineffective government there.

The questions about the unknown managerial and pedagogic components of effectiveness are answered and discussed by virtue of a mainly qualitative, multiple-case study of 9 NGOs located in 4 cities. Accordingly, the key managerial and pedagogic constituents are explored and then conceptualised in the form of 'Dynamic Concept Analysis' (DCA) modeling. Through this analysis, an effective as well as context-appropriate NGOs' intervention is theorised further.

Overall, I argue that the growth of the Cambodian garment industry and tourism may improve the employment and empowerment of impoverished urban young people. This can be made possible if pedagogy is tailor-made to match education with the demands of the labour market, supporting the process of students' empowerment. The idea is to provide opportunities to practice power and allow power spontaneously to emerge in a cooperative and inclusive environment. The possibility of their being able to benefit from national economic growth could be maximised if NGOs play a good managerial role. Having carefully considered the idea of linking education with employment, NGOs can mobilise the necessary resources and build up the many connections required in order to help vulnerable young people overcome the socio-cultural and administrative barriers that block their way to employment and empowerment.

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Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
APSDEP	Asian and Pacific Skill Development Programme, ILO
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
CARE	CARE Cambodia
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CCC	Cooperation Committee for Cambodia
CDC	Council for the Development of Cambodia
CEA	Cambodian Economic Association
CRWRC	Christian Reformed World Relief Committee
CSD	Council for Social Development
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency, Denmark
DCA	Dynamic Concept Analysis
DFID	Department for International Development, UK
DSE/ZGB	German Foundation for International Development, Germany
EFA	Education for All
EIC	Economic Institute of Cambodia
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FRA	Field Relief Agency of Taiwan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GRO	Grassroots Organisation
Hagar	Hagar International
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO
ILO	International Labor Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
JVC	Japan International Volunteer Centre
MDGs	UN Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Multi-Fibre Arrangement
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Cambodia
MoLVT	Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training, Cambodia
MoP	Ministry of Planning, Cambodia
NIS	National Institute of Statistics
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

NTB	National Training Board
OECD	Economic Cooperation and Development
PNH	Phnom Penh (capital city of Cambodia)
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
SA	Structural Adjustment
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Switzerland
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority, Sweden
SIPAR	Soutien a l'Initiative Privee pour l'Aide a la Reconstruction
TOPS	Taipei Oversea Peace Service
TVET	Technical Vocational Education and Training
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes
UNESCO	United Nations educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
VE	Vocational Education
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZOA	ZOA Refugee Care Cambodia

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Research Background

As a new regime of liberal democracy under a constitutional monarch, the Kingdom of Cambodia was established in South-East Asia in 1993. It has a very young demographic structure: about 70% of the total 14.9 million population are under 30 years old, and 26.3 % are aged between 14 and 30 (ADB 2000; Wallquist 2002; World Bank 2007a). ‘Young people’ refers to those aged between 14 and 30 years, according to the Youth Department operating under the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MoEYS). Unlike children, Cambodian young people are a ‘forgotten group’ as they are generally less often the focus of national or international development policies. Their suffering from socio-economic inequality is overtly higher in urban hubs than in rural areas, because it is in the cities where the largest disparity between rich and poor is found (World Bank 2007b). The socio-economic disparity in urban Cambodia has not only been exacerbated by the transformation of the urban economy from the communist ideas of economic self-reliance and isolationism, to integration into the openness of global trade and the free market (Clayton 2005), but has also been entrenched by educational reforms. These have apparently favoured general education, produced more educated unemployed/under-employed youth, and subsequently ignored the link between educational supply, new employment opportunities, and the changing skills required by a globalising urban economy (Ayres 2000a; Ayres 2003).

In comparison with general education, vocational education (VE) has generally been overlooked and received fewer resources by the Royal Government (RGC) in the Kingdom of Cambodia. To take a look at the country’s overarching development

policies, both representative documents '*Cambodian Millennium Development Goals*' (MoP 2003) and '*National Strategic Development Plan 2006-2010*' (MoP 2006) make no mention of the importance of technical and vocational education and training (TVET), but prioritise general primary schooling in response to the international aid donors' targets in Education for All (EFA) and the six UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). One of those development goals is to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2015. The RGC's plans and programmes in support of general education are specified in all the recent key educational documents: '*Education Sector Support Program 2004-2008*' (MoEYS 2004a), '*Education Strategic Plan 2004-2008*' (MoEYS 2004b), '*Education Sector Support Program 2006-2010*' (MoEYS 2005a) and '*Education Strategic Plan 2006-2010*' (MoEYS 2005b).

Apart from the effect of these economic and educational reforms, the vulnerability of young Cambodians has been made worse by the nation's modern war-torn history.

After gaining independence from France in 1953, Cambodia was not free from civil wars and military invasion by outsiders such as the Vietnamese. The chronic infighting and societal upheaval may be reflected in the frequency with which the nation changed its regime and official name during a period of only three decades: from Khmer Republic (1970-1975), to Democratic Kampuchea (under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979), to the People's Republic of Kampuchea (1979-1989), the State of Cambodia (1989-1993), and the Kingdom of Cambodia (1993-present). Most notably, genocide in the Khmer Rouge period caused the death of about one to two million people, including most of the educated strata (Clayton 2005). As a result, post-conflict Cambodian society is to a large degree still immersed in collective insecurity and fear, fragile social relationships, family breakdown and self-protective individualism (French 2002); and vulnerable young people are characterised as suffering high levels

of unemployment (and in fact, under-employment), poorly educated, as having low self-esteem and a strong sense of frustration as well as depression (Corvalan 1984; Mashek 1992; Leonardos 1999)

In spite of the government's ineffectiveness in improving the life and livelihoods of vulnerable young people, I argue that this is the right time to call for immediate and effective intervention in response to the pressing requirement of both employment and empowerment experienced by Cambodia's young people. This is in part because more diverse and emerging employment opportunities are now to be found in the urban economy of Cambodia (EIC 2005b; EIC 2006). It is also in part because a Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training (MoLVT) was formally established in 2005, producing the first draft of a key policy document entitled the '*Draft National Technical and Vocational Education and Training Development Plan*' (MoLVT 2006). The establishment of this Ministry may be regarded as the first sign of RGC becoming aware of the widening mismatch between education and employment in the country. The draft plan claims to tackle out-of-school youth, restates the importance of vocational education, and intends to coordinate various education and training opportunities given that at present, different ministries and institutions are responsible for training and issue their own certificates. Accordingly, MoLVT will assure the quality of VE provision at a nation-wide scale, and more importantly will set up national skills standards, competency assessment and a unified qualification system. In short, it seeks to match education and training with those attributes that young people need if they are to be employable. In order to finance better VE services, MoLVT encourages both business and voluntary sectors to become involved in building a wider range of public-private partnerships. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), perceived as the most trustworthy and reliable institutions by the general

public in Cambodia (IRL 2007), are encouraged to take on a supervisory role, complementing and cooperating with RGC (NGO Forum on Cambodia 2007). I would argue that NGOs could be a key, effective partner in providing VE devices for educating vulnerable young people in order to lift their social and economic status and place them on more equal terms with the rest of society. In view of this stated intention, this doctoral research (based on work with NGO VE services) intends to explore the managerial and pedagogic constituents of effective intervention by NGOs in vocational education (VE) in the Cambodian urban context. To address this, the distinctive management and organizational characteristics of NGOs and the pedagogical ideas and philosophies set out in the existing literature will also demand analysis and reflection.

1.2 Debates on VE Pedagogy and NGO Management

Vocational education (VE) may be seen as a rather liberal term, when compared with vocational training (Grubb and Ryan 1999). The term ‘vocational education’ is preferred in this research, due to my recognition of its broader educational connotations of the blurred boundary between education and training, between practical knowledge and academic subjects. With its historical and ideological roots in the West, vocational education is about empowering all aspects of individuals’ lives, whether economic, socio-cultural or political (Lauglo, Akyeampong et al. 2002). While many VE educators and theorists such as Plato, Aristotle, Heidegger, Dewey, Ryle, Oakeshott, Arendt, Polanyi and Kerschensteiner have traditionally espoused the idea of integrating practical and academic subjects, incorporating vocational training with general education (Dewey 1916; Ryle 1949; Arendt 1958; Polanyi 1958;

Oakeshott 1962; Lum 2004; Lewis 2005; Winch 2006), such integration has been continuously challenged in both industrial and developing countries. The first confrontation is the hegemonic, political drive for education to have a narrower, economic purpose, and the second is the question of whether VE integrated pedagogy rooted in the West is context-appropriate to non-western societies, and in particular to the ‘developing’ world.

In a ‘developing’ country like Cambodia, there is little dispute that the political culture and economic environment rather than education have had the greater impact upon young people’s empowerment and employment. However, vocational education is valued in the belief that relevant learning leads to a better future. Young people in Cambodia are experiencing the transition from a communist regime to a liberal democracy and moving rapidly toward global economic openness, and they need to be equipped and prepared to understand and participate in the successive interaction with international politics and economies as well as being able to negotiate with global influences on domestic development. Having realised that the education reforms of the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) may have failed in this, the researcher suggests that more relevant, flexible and comprehensive curricula and programmes for vocational education in Cambodia need to be considered (Okwuanaso 1985; UNESCO 2004; UNESCO 2004a; UNESCO Bangkok 2005; NGO Education Partnership 2006).

Noticeably, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have long been committed to eliminating socio-economic inequality and specifically, to being a vehicle for educating and training vulnerable young people to be ready for a vocation. Their strengths and weaknesses as service implementers, directly empowering the vulnerable young people who are their primary stakeholders, and advocating structural

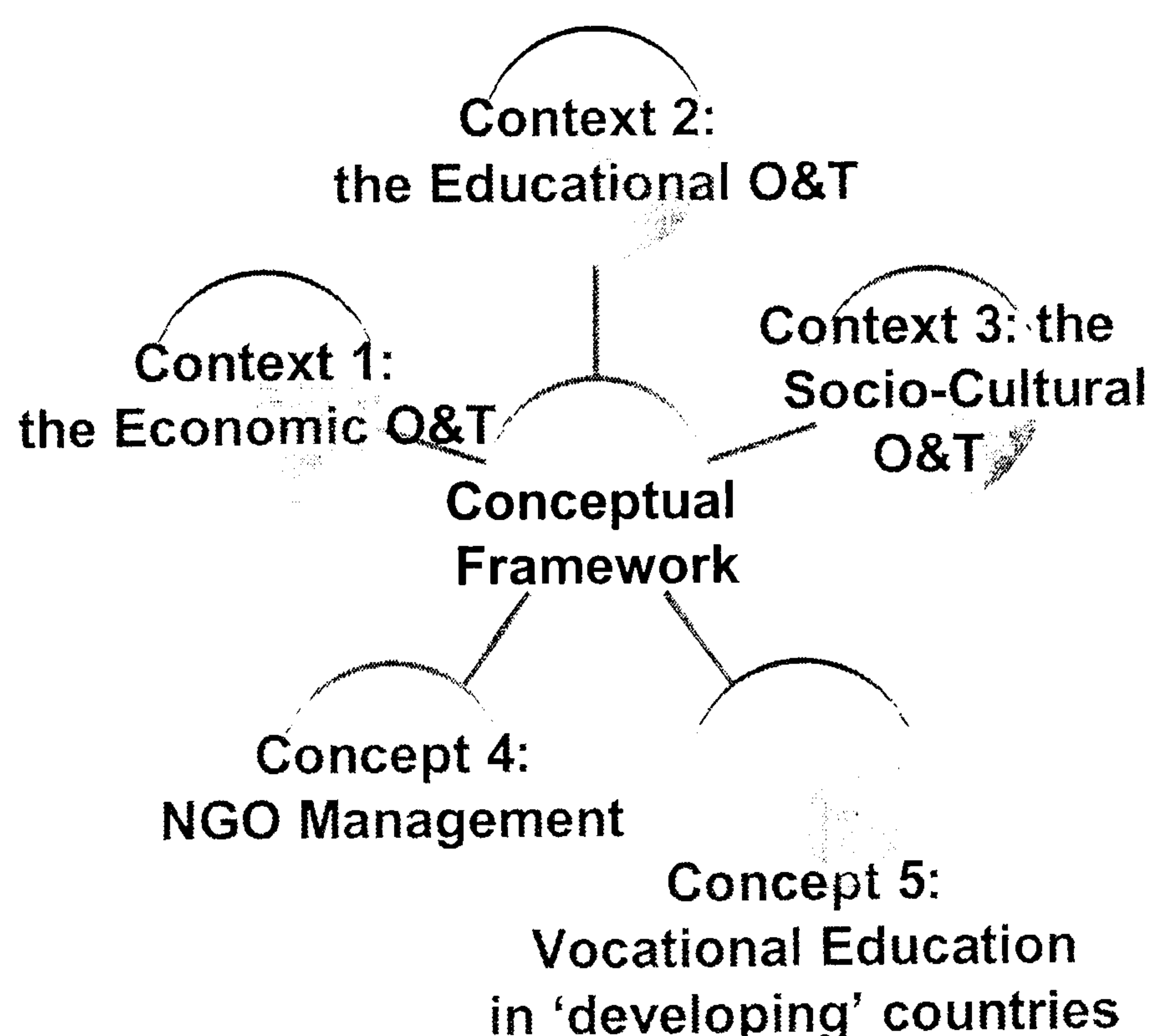
changes by influencing other secondary stakeholders such as other NGOs, state governments, the business world and other civic actors, have been discussed widely in recent years (Edwards and Hulme 1992; Billis and MacKeith 1993; Edwards and Hulme 1996; Fowler and Pratt 1997; Lewis 2003; Unerman and O'Dwyer 2006). The organisational characteristics, especially, strengths and weaknesses, of NGOs are hence identified and differentiated from those of governments, the commercial private sector, multi-/bi-lateral aid agencies and other development actors in the international aid chain and aid-recipient countries (Fowler and Pratt 1997; Edwards and Fowler 2002; Lewis 2007). Owing to NGOs' high public approval, and the fact that they have no substitute counterparts in either business or public sectors, the number of NGOs registered with the Cambodian government is increasing dramatically according to the Cooperation Committee for Cambodia (CCC 2005a). Yet the existing studies, whether with essential consent or opposition to NGOs' intervention and operation, base their arguments on rather scattered, limited evidence or on the personal experience of practitioners in the field. There has been relatively little systematic, academic research into the ideas of NGO management, in contrast with the abundant management research that has been conducted in both public and private business sectors. In order to better explore and investigate the distinctive components of NGO management that might contribute to NGO organisational effectiveness in development work, the 'micro perspectives in Organisation Theory' (as it is termed by Mckinley and Mone (2003), referring to the sub-theories of contingency and resource dependency) is suggested by many NGO managers and researchers (Fowler 2002; Lewis 2007) to be the principal, most substantial and most appropriate analytic lens to probe NGO-environment relations, to understand how an NGO might effectively adapt itself to a contingent and resource-unfavourable environment, and then to inform the design of a conceptual framework.

What lies at the heart of the propositions of Organisation Theory is that effectiveness might be achieved if an organisation manages to adapt itself properly to any changes occurring in its task environment (Morgan 1989; Mckinley and Mone 2003). It highlights significant environmental influences and the need of managers not only to guide organisational adaptation in accord with the change in stakeholders' interests, but also to cope with resource dependency within an organisation; particularly where that organisation is situated in a contingent and uncertain environment (Lewis 2001; Edwards and Fowler 2002; Tsoukas and Knudsen 2003). In other words, Organisation Theory in relation to NGO management will conceptualize the intermediate role of a NGO between its beneficiaries and different interest groups, shed light upon the question of how an NGO may exploit its own organisational strengths and simultaneously overcome its organisational weaknesses, so as to deal with opportunities and threats in the development context. Given my intention to stand side by side with the individual managers of NGOs, I will therefore emphasise more the micro perspectives (i.e. Contingency Theory and Resource Dependency Theory) in Organisation Theory to investigate how an NGO might manage to modify its structure with reference to the specific Cambodian urban context, and pursue the relationship of 'fit' and 'balance' between the organisation and that specific macro context (Deazin and Van De Ven A. H. 1985; Davis and Powell 1992; Mckinley and Mone 2003).

1.3 Research Focus

To present the reasons for the scope and scale of this research concisely, a conceptual framework grounded upon a systematic and critical review of five areas in the existing literature (as illustrated in Figure 1.1) is set up. In other words, the conceptual framework is based not only upon the broad debates mentioned earlier and which are concerned with NGO management and VE pedagogy (in Section 1.2), but also upon the understanding of the particular economic, educational and socio-cultural circumstances that exist in urban Cambodia (as elaborated in Section 1.1). In Figure 1.1, ‘*O&T*’ means urban opportunities and threats, from the three aspects of economy, education and socio-culture in Cambodia, and should help shed some light on the macro context in which vulnerable young Cambodians find themselves.

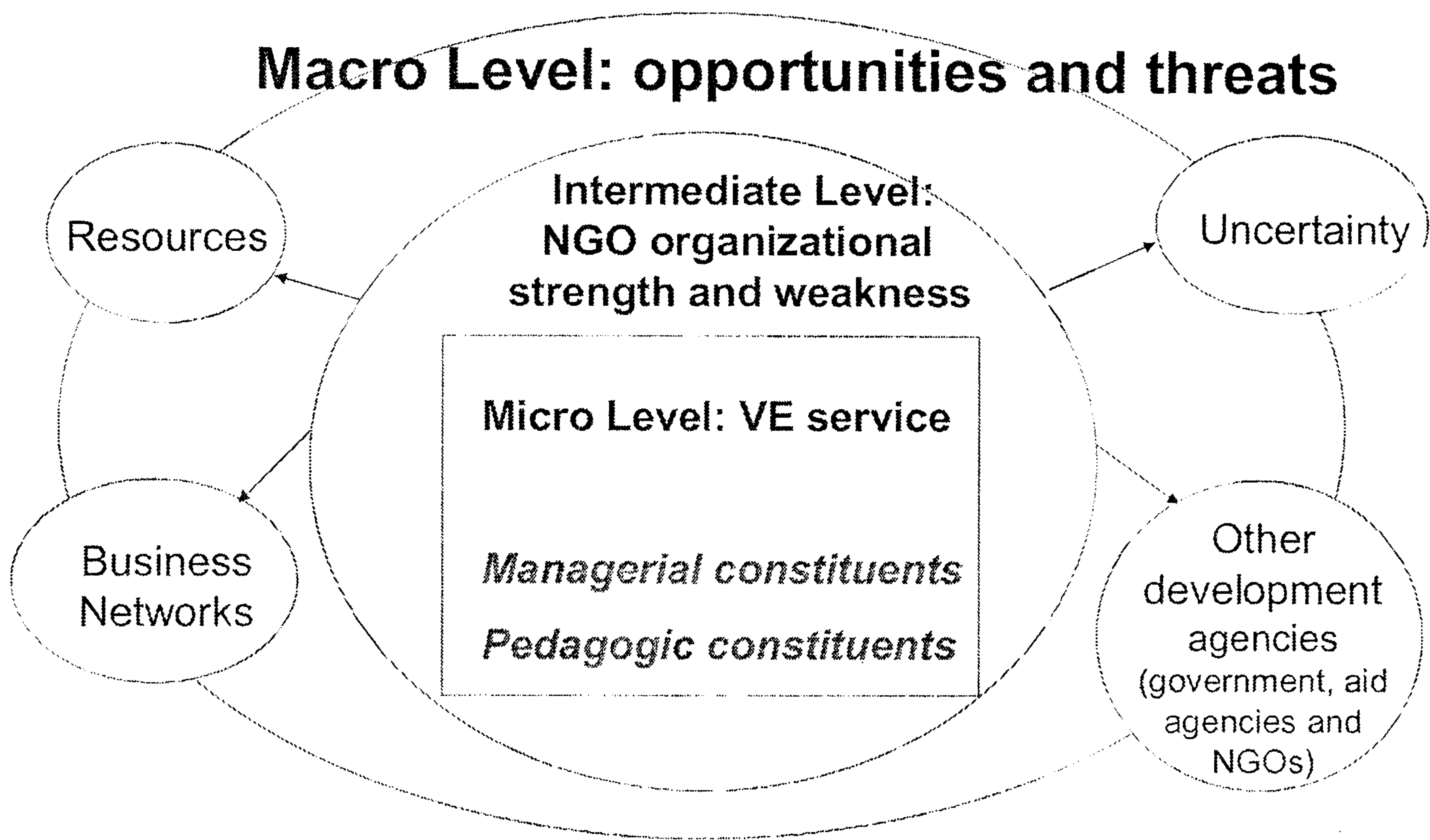
Figure 1.1: Five areas of literature underpinning the conceptual framework



As addressed in the last section 1.2, NGOs’ managerial practices in Cambodia are due for some systematic and comprehensive research. Contemporary Organisation Theory

aligned with NGO management should provide both the power to explain and a substantial analytical lens to conceptualise the important relationships and intermediate roles of an NGO among its beneficiaries and the various interest groups that exist in a contingent and resource-dependent environment. The main structure of the conceptual framework is accordingly mapped in Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2: Conceptual framework of NGOs’ intervention in vocational education



Following on from this, one core and six sub-questions are raised about the unknown managerial and pedagogic constituents of NGO VE services in response to Cambodia’s specific circumstances:

Core Question: What constitutes effectiveness (in managerial and pedagogic terms) in NGOs’ intervention in vocational education (VE) for the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people in urban Cambodia?

And these six **sub-questions** are developed:

- Q1: What are the traditional aspects (including organizational culture, development visions and objectives) of NGOs' intervention in VE for vulnerable young people in Cambodia?
- Q2: What constitutes effective management of an NGO VE service, insofar as (1) the selection stage, (2) education and training stage, and (3) employment stage are involved?
- Q3: For mobilizing resources and helping young people to overcome any barriers to employment, how does a focal organization (such as an NGO) manage its institutional relationships and strategic alliances with other supportive agencies?
- Q4: What constitutes relevant pedagogy (e.g. curriculum development, knowledge and skills portfolio, learning and teaching methods) of VE for the employment and empowerment of young people in Cambodia?
- Q5: What is meant by empowerment, from both NGOs providers' and beneficiaries' perspectives?
- Q6: How can NGOs empower vulnerable young people and simultaneously avoid the process being undermined by the alien culture of international NGOs and/or by local elites?

1.4 Thesis Structure

In face of the socio-cultural, economic and educational vulnerability of young people in urban Cambodia, this doctoral research is an attempt to explore and identify the most effective means of providing NGO intervention in vocational education for employment and empowerment. More specifically, the managerial and pedagogic components of effectiveness at the NGO organizational level and VE service level are illuminated by virtue of a mainly qualitative, multiple-case study.

To begin with the literature review, Chapter 2 focuses on the socio-cultural, economic and educational contexts in which these vulnerable young people are located. Urban opportunities and threats are also considered. Chapter 3 discusses the organizational strengths and weaknesses of NGOs, and their distinctive management from both composite and organizational perspectives. The latter, informed by Organization Theory, is used to develop the structure of my conceptual framework. Chapter 4 seeks to analyze the dominant ideas and ideologies of vocational education in the developing world. By doing so the constraints of current educational planning, pronouncement and systems are examined, and the renewed interest in integrating pedagogy in vocational education is brought out.

Grounded in the literature review (Chapters 2-4), Chapter 5 outlines the research strategy, design and methods of this doctoral work and elaborates how the research inquiries are answered by empirical evidence. 9 NGOs located in 4 cities are selected for the multiple-case study, with direct observation, participatory observation, semi-structured interviews, structured interviews and documentary collection being applied during two periods of fieldwork in Cambodia. Preceded by data collection, an

analytic process involving general and specific strategies is developed. For the latter, a specific analytic technique (namely *Dynamic Concept Analysis*¹) is adopted so as to gain more internal validity and theory verification.

In Chapters 6 and 7 respectively, the empirical findings of management and pedagogy will be explored and analysed in the NGO-comparative manner. The key managerial and pedagogical constituents that constitute effectiveness are captured from the perspectives of both NGO VE service providers and their beneficiaries. Sourced from the empirical evidence, Chapter 8 further conceptualizes and models the effectiveness of NGO VE intervention in Cambodia, gaining more theoretical verification by comparing the modelling results with what is seen as constituting effectiveness in the follow-up of employment and empowerment of VE graduates (i.e. the service beneficiaries) at their workplaces. Finally some possible organisational changes geared towards better effectiveness in each NGO will be suggested, as will be the ideal level of effectiveness.

Chapter 9 turns to discussing the extent to which my findings and analyses contribute to contextual understanding, and the managerial and pedagogical debates identified from the literature review in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively. In addition to the implications for Organisation Theory, the focus is also upon echoing, expanding and challenging the existing debates about the interaction and potential influences of an effective service upon its service beneficiaries on the one side, and the wider

¹ Kontiainen, S., Ed. (2002a). Dynamic Concept Analysis: Integrating Information in Conceptual Models. Helsinki, University of Helsinki, Department of Education.
The software is downloadable from <http://www.helsinki.fi/ktl/julkaisut/dca/>.

environment (as sketched in the conceptual framework) on the other.

To summarise, Chapter 10 offers an epitome of this Thesis. First, I briefly address both pedagogic and managerial findings concerning what constitutes effective NGO VE intervention in the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people. Next, how the empirical evidence contributes to the existing debates on NGO management and VE pedagogy will be explicitly indicated; followed finally by the clarification of certain limitations that have affected this research, with appropriate responses to improve any further study.

Chapter 2 Vulnerability in the Cambodian Context

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to review the literature about the educational, economic and socio-cultural contexts in which vulnerable young Cambodians find themselves, and where urban opportunities and threats are identified and examined. The contextual background throughout this doctoral research is described in support of a call for the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people. To do so, I shall first describe the young people's educational, economic and socio-cultural vulnerability, and simultaneously give a clear depiction of why empowerment and employment are timely and critical to them. Secondly, despite the threats to the sustainable livelihood and personal development of young people, urban opportunities emerging at the macro (national) level in Cambodia must also be considered. The threats have increased the need for NGOs to intervene in vocational education as an alternative response to cooperation with the ineffective government. Such expectations, stemming from emerging opportunities, are thus very likely to be realized rather than pie in the sky.

Accordingly, three aspects of vulnerability (i.e. the socio-cultural, the economic and the educational) permeating daily life for vulnerable young people in urban Cambodia are discussed respectively in 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4. The contextual background discussed here eventually informs my design for the conceptual framework (in Figure 1.2), in a

way that maps urban threats and opportunities at the macro level, to which NGOs' management at the organizational (intermediate) level and their pedagogy of vocational education at the service (micro) level are carefully adapted in order to effectively meet the needs of vulnerable young people for employment and empowerment.

2.2 Socio-Cultural Vulnerability of Young People

2.2.1 Conceptualising Youth

As a phase between childhood and adulthood, youth might be understood as a time of transition, moving the weight of one's life from school to work (Ansell 2005; World Bank 2006b). The features of youth are indeed distinct, and especially conditioned by age and by the experience of particular generations. However, the terms 'youth' or 'young people' are definitely not built on any homogeneous sense; rather, youth is a socio-cultural construct and usually conceptualized in and for a specific societal context. In Cambodia, youth has no legal definition but refers to those between 14 and 30 years old, according to the Youth Department, under the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MoEYS), Cambodia. In the national census of 1998 Cambodia was reported to have a population of 11.4 million, which had grown rapidly to approximately 14.9 million by the year 2008 (DFID 2000; UN 2006; World Bank 2007a). The country's demographic structure is predominantly young, with more than half being under 18 years, and 70 % under 30 years. Currently about 26.3 % of the total population are aged 14 to 30 (ADB 2000; NIS 2000; FRD 2001; Wallquist 2002). Unemployment is notably high among youths aged between 14 and 30, as seen in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1: Unemployment rates by gender and age group

Age group	Both genders	Male	Female
10-14	0.7	0.5	0.8
15-19	5.4	5.2	5.5
20-24	4.4	5.0	3.9
25-29	3.4	2.8	4.1
30-34	2.0	0.8	3.0
35-39	1.6	1.0	2.3
40-44	0.4	0.2	0.7
45-49	0.5	0.2	0.8
50-54	1.0	1.0	0.9
55-59	0.1	0.2	0
60-64	0.5	0.1	1.0
65+	0.1	0*	0.2
Total	2.5	2.1	2.8

Source: MoP (2000)

*Life expectancy at birth (years): 52.1 (men) and 59.6 (women) (UN 2006)

Among those young people, gender similarities and differences could be found in the domestic work, school participation and employment expectations in contemporary Cambodia. In terms of domestic activities, males and females start domestic work (such as house cleaning, washing clothes, meal preparation and retrieving water) at almost the same age, 8 to 9 years old. However, females are notably engaged in more domestic work and spend longer hours than males on household chores (World Bank 2005b). Owing to the higher domestic burden, Cambodian females are reported to have higher dropout and lower completion rates in both primary and lower secondary school (Bray and Bunly 2005). As far as employment and earnings are concerned, there are no significant gender differences in the time-intensity and type of employment across different age groups. Both genders begin to work at roughly the same age, 10 years old. Even primary school students (both boys and girls) contribute to the total household income, as high as 15% on average. As with domestic work,

both extent and time-intensity of productive work increases with age. These, as pulling factors of schooling, implicates that the opportunity cost of schooling is high in Cambodia and rises rapidly with age (Bray and Bunly 2005; World Bank 2005b). It is not surprising that Cambodia is the poorest country in Southeast Asia. The poverty rate in the last five years has remained unfortunately high, fluctuating between 35%-40% of the total population, and is much higher than the country's unemployment rate at only 2.5 % (MoP 2000; ADB 2004a; DFID 2005; ADB 2006). This implies that majority of the poor are in fact 'under-employed' (i.e. living below the 'poverty line' while doing some 'survival' or 'subsistence' work as termed by McGrath, King et al. 1995). The underemployment rate was about 38% in 2001 and has remained almost unchanged since then (EIC 2006). For people living below the poverty line, unemployment is a luxury they cannot afford. They must do some causal work for survival. 'Poverty lines' applied in Cambodia, as seen in Table 2.2, are measured in slightly different ways. The national poverty lines reported by the *Council for Social Development* (CSD) in 2002 and *Economic Institute of Cambodia* (EIC) in 2005 define the sum needed for a person to cover the cost of food that will provide at least 2100 calories of energy per day, together with non-food items such as shelter and clothes. 2,093 Riels and 1,950 Riels were estimated in CSD 2002 and EIC 2005 respectively as the sums necessary to survive in urban Cambodia. On the other hand, if a higher 'universal' standard poverty line (US\$1 per day, by the World Bank) is applied then the poverty rate in Cambodia goes up to 42%, which is the highest in Southeast Asia (World Bank 2005a).

Table 2.2: National poverty lines and World Bank standard of poverty line (per day)

	CSD 2002 (riel/US\$)	EIC 2005 (riel)	World Bank (US\$)
Phnom Penh	2,470/0.63	2,350	1*
Other Urban	2,093/0.54	1,950	1
Rural	1,777/0.46	1,750	1

* 1 US\$ is approximately equal to 4,000 riels

(CSD 2002; EIC 2005b)

To take another look at the aggregate level in the country, the United Nations Human Development Index (which is a composite measure of the country's quality of life) ranked Cambodia as low as 153rd from 175 countries (DFID 2000). Most young people in contemporary Cambodian society must struggle for their immediate personal needs such as food, shelter and protection on a daily basis, given the nation's turbulent history as 'a killing field' of genocide and the resulting damage to social capital and economic structures. Negative factors like high poverty levels, fragile social relationships, family breakdown and collective insecurity, fear and uncertain institutional strategies remain predominant. At the psychological level, Cambodian people are now described as barely capable of thinking beyond personal gain, and a concomitant self-protective individualism has developed accordingly (French 2002).

Common socio-cultural experiences are usually shared by those aged between 14 and 30. Young people in Cambodia are eligible to vote at the age of 18, and usually get married at the age of 20 (MoP 1998). Their generation is the so-called 'post-conflict baby boom', born or brought up after the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) with its civil war and genocide. In contrast to younger children, these youths are a group that is often forgotten in both international and Cambodian policy agendas (Wallquist 2002). They are more economically active and by no means free from household responsibilities. They are expected to play a role in supporting the household income,

caring for younger siblings and sharing the housework within their families and communities. Cambodia's labour force is realistically defined as 'the population aged 10 years and above', according to the *Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey 1999* produced by the National Institute of Statistics (NIS), Ministry of Planning (MoP). Yet young people have a very different personal history and experience from those of their elders, which in general enables them to live with more trust, confidence and openness to new ideas and cultures. Nevertheless, young people in Cambodia are culturally regarded as 'immature adults' and traditionally granted much less decision-making power and less access to the resources in their families and society than is available to adults.

2.2.2 Defining Vulnerable Young People

We may ask: just who are the vulnerable young people in Cambodia, to be more precise? Why are employment and empowerment critical to them? The conceptualization of vulnerable young people, according to the definition by Corvanlan (1984), refers to 'socially and economically disadvantaged young persons, who have either never entered school or have dropped out early in their lives, (and who) do not possess a qualified and relatively permanent occupation and have not had access to educational and training opportunities' (Corvanlan 1984:3). Negative factors such as the high cost of education, recurring unemployment and constant under-employment have inevitably led young people to develop a negative attitude towards life, with low self-esteem and expectations, and a sense of depression, frustration and fatalism (Corvalan 1984; Leonardos 1999). To extend the explanation given by Corvalan, the conceptualization of the vulnerability of youth is overtly a signifier combining various educational, economic, social, cultural and demographic

factors. The complexities and specificities of such a signifier are apt to be incremental, as time and contexts change from one to another. For instance, more than 20 years after Corvanlan produced his paper, vulnerable youths in the current era of EFA (i.e. Education for All) and UPE (i.e. 'Universal Primary Education' by 2015, one of the UN's six millennium goals) are indeed not only haunted by the old issues of physical and affordable access to education (e.g. dropout and the lack of access to training or primary schooling), but also beset by new problems of relevant and meaningful access to education (e.g. ignorance of basic learning needs, and the increase in educated but unemployed or under-employed young people) (World Bank 2006b).

In brief, vulnerable young people in Cambodia targeted and addressed throughout this doctoral research refer particularly to those:

- aged 14-30; and
- unemployed or under-employed (i.e. living below the poverty line while doing some 'survival' or 'subsistence' work, as termed in McGrath, King et al. 1995); and
- having low educational achievement in primary schooling (either having no access to primary school, or dropping out; or remaining and graduating from primary education, but unlikely to enrol in secondary school or a formal TVET institute).

Having defined and conceptualized vulnerable young people in Cambodia, their vulnerability is evidently inseparable from the wider socio-cultural, political, economic and educational context in which their lives are lived out. The macro (national) context, and whether it is likely to engender a feeling of threat or the hope of opportunity, will be further analyzed in the next two sections.

2.3 Economic Vulnerability of Young People

2.3.1 Economic Opportunities

a. In transition to market and trade openness

After the independence of Cambodia from France in 1953 and the collapse in 1979 of the Pol Pot (Khmer Rouge) regime, the UN Border Relief Operation in cooperation with other bi-/multi-lateral agencies and NGOs set up refugee camps along the country's border. This was largely effected by 1982, while the whole nation was beset by civil war. The country's four main armed factions eventually signed the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991, which promised an end to the chronic infighting. They also agreed to support the establishment of the 'Royal Government of Cambodia' (RGC) as a new regime of liberal democracy under a constitutional monarchy. In accordance with the Agreement, the first election was held in 1993 under the supervision of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).

Since the RGC was founded, Cambodia's economy has undergone a transition to market and financial openness. In 1994 RGC signed a Structural Adjustment (SA) Agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Despite some debate about whether the SA programmes are genuinely being put into practice, the country's accession to the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1999 and 2004 reconfirmed that Cambodia's economic direction is towards trade and market liberalisation.

Table 2.3: Cambodia’s GDP growth

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007*
GDP (%)	5.5	6.2	8.6	10.0	13.4	10.5	9.5

*projection

Source: ADB (2006), ADB (2007), World Bank (2006a).

As shown in Table 2.3 the country’s GDP grew at a good pace, from 5.5% to 13.4% between 2001 and 2005. These rates were more subdued in the years 2006 and 2007, due to the impact of the ending of the Multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA) on the garment and textiles export industry in 2005. The advantage of Cambodia’s cheap labour in garment manufacture is also likely to be threatened by rising global competition. Indeed, Cambodia has encountered just such competition from its global competitors China, Vietnam, India and Bangladesh, following the approval of access to ASEAN in 1999 and to WTO in 2004 (Mahmood 2005; World Bank 2007a).

b. Garments and tourism as main sources of economic growth

Garment production and tourism are the main sources of economic growth in Cambodia (EIC 2005a; World Bank 2006a). Clothing production is an export-oriented industry, and also the second biggest contributor to the GDP. It represents up to 14.4% of GDP, according to the *Asian Development Outlook 2006* produced by the Asian Development Bank (ADB). By comparison, tourist services demonstrate robust growth and this increase is demonstrated by the growing number of foreign tourists coming to visit an attraction that is known around the world, Angkor Wat (as shown in the following table).

Table 2.4: Foreign tourist arrivals in Cambodia (% increase, year average)

	2002	2003*	2004	2005	2006
By Air (Through Phnom Penh)	5.3%	-22.6%	17.4%	25.0%	15.0%
By Air (Through Siem Reap)	42.4%	-1.4%	66.1%	50.0%	35.0%
By Land & Boat	34.0%	-7.2%	47.3%	30.0%	20.0%
Total	21.3%	-12.5%	40.8%	34.7%	23.7%
Number (000's)	801	701	987	1329	1645

*In 2003, Cambodia experienced a serious diplomatic tension with Thailand, and this in turn resulted in the temporary closure of the Thai-Cambodian border.

Source: Ministry of Tourism for 2002-2004; EIC estimates for 2005-2006

Both tourism and garment industries generate employment. However, Cambodia is a country where only a few can seek their future in waged employment (i.e. the formal, regulated and modern sector of a country's economy). It is estimated that only 15% of the workforce had formal, waged jobs in 2004 (EIC 2006). Among those, many will have to earn a daily living not only from a primary job (e.g. being a school teacher with a low salary) but also by a second or a third job such as being self-employed as a motorcycle-taxi driver. As the country's overall economy has grown, there has been a gentle increase of waged employment from 10.2% of the total labour force in 1996 up to 15.2% in 2000, while self-employment (i.e. workers on their own account, and unpaid family workers in the informal sector of the economy) has shown a decline from 89.4% in 1996 to 84.5% in 2000 (Mahmood 2005; EIC 2005a). Nevertheless the majority of the Cambodian workforce continues to be self-employed in the informal sector, which in turn contributes to 62% of GDP (EIC 2005a) and is often connected with the formal economy through outsourcing and subcontracting (Cross 1999). To take the textile/garment industry for instance, a study funded by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) indicates that the industry is in fact a network-based economic activity which connects the regulated formal sector with the

informal one (through subcontracting and outsourcing). Accordingly, everywhere in Cambodia we can readily find urban dwellers or rural villagers with their own sewing machines earning a tiny ‘wage’ from urban textile/clothes retailers, e.g. by changing second-hand clothes to more fashionable styles (ZOA and IOM 2003).

Notably, other than garment production and tourism, Cambodia’s national economic growth strategy has also targeted agriculture, which is the national biggest contributor of GDP (35.6%) (ILO 2002). Agriculture has a traditional status as the seedbed for surplus labour, and accommodates approximately three quarters of the country’s labour force (ADB 2000; CSD 2002a). Even though agriculture and rural development play a crucial role in the country’s economic development, they are outside the scope of this research and hence their relationship with urbanisation, with the urban poor, and with young people is left for future study.

2.3.2 Economic Threats

a. Trade-off between economic growth and income inequality

Due to the country’s political stabilisation in the post-conflict era, economic performance such as GDP growth and foreign direct investment (FDI) have greatly increased. However, from a long-term perspective, certain factors might yet endanger and undermine the country’s economy. First of these is the magnitude of external debt. Cambodia is a country where much external debt remains outstanding, as its dependence on foreign assistance in the forms of loans and grants is particularly high. The accumulated debt was estimated at US\$1.2 billion at the end of 2004 (EIC 2005a), while international aid is around US\$ 500 million per year (i.e. US\$ 40 per capita) and approximately represents 138 percent of the annual national budget (CCC 2005a).

Secondly, economic activity in Cambodia has long been criticized for its fragile law enforcement, reluctance in judicial and legal reforms, ineffective governmental bureaucracy in terms of transparency and accountability, and especially the dearth of an educated and skilled workforce (Duggan 1996; EIC 2005a). Thirdly, the country crucially lacks pro-poor mechanisms and implementation that would ensure symmetrical development between economic growth and poverty reduction (EIC 2005b). ‘Pro-poor mechanisms’ as used here is when a government makes active intervention to assist poverty reduction (CEA 2006). The Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) recognises the great degree to which recent, rapid economic growth has failed to make an effective impact on poverty, according to the government’s overarching development plan ‘*National Strategic Development Plan 2006-2010*’ (MoP 2006). Nonetheless, in the above Plan it is market solutions (along with limited activity by the state government in market liberalisation) and integration into the world economy that is considered key to promote economic equality and the reduction of poverty in Cambodia. Yet, while the poverty rate in Cambodia fluctuated between 35.9%-40% between 1993 and 1999 (Mahmood 2005), the income inequality rose from 0.35 to 0.42 (gini coefficient) between 1993 and 2004 (World Bank 2007b). The country’s poverty rate seems resistant to change, and the inequality gap in income distribution has widened in recent years. While a trade-off relationship has apparently developed between economic growth and income equality in Cambodia, the poor however have failed to take advantage of the growing economy. Socio-cultural, economic and educational barriers are preventing the poor from equal opportunities, and from benefiting from the rise of the tourist and garment industries. People are too poor to afford education, and as a result they are without the skills and knowledge to compete for desirable waged employment. Poor people also have relatively limited

access to financial resources, credit, information, technical advice, relevant social relationships and business networks, so they cannot start or sustain any entrepreneurial self-employment (Grierson and McKenzie 1996; Grierson 1997; Afenyadu, King et al. 2001). Besides, very high bureaucratic and institutional barriers such as corrupt officials and bribery are common phenomena in central government, among local officers and the police in Cambodia, and these have seriously damaged poor people's livelihoods and created barriers at the point of their entry to the labour market.

b. Labour market: supply over demand, and discrimination against the poor

By and large job generation in Cambodia has increased, but not enough. The country's labour force is increasing rapidly due to the burgeoning young population. The labour force (i.e. those aged 10 and above, as mentioned in 2.2.1) is over-supplied and has grown at a very fast pace, from 59.2% of the total population in 1995 to 65.2% in 2000, then to 71.7% in 2001 (Mahmood 2005). By comparison, the increase in waged employment in the formal sector has been too slow to absorb the growth of the country's workforce and as a result, those opportunities have become even more competitive. As EIC (2005b) points out, there are at least 300,000 new workers per year. However, only about 50,000 jobs at best are created in the formal sector such as the garment industries, tourism and public administration in Cambodia (EIC 2005b; Powell 2006) and thus the rest of the new workers have to be accommodated by the informal sector, by becoming self-employed in agriculture, family business, petty trade and so on.

Furthermore, the distribution of waged employment between the poor and the rich is rather unequal. Around three-quarters of the employment opportunities in the formal,

modern sector are taken up by the richer half quintile (MoP 1999). To some extent the labour market in Cambodia appears to discriminate against the poor seeking access to waged employment. In contrast, the informal sector may not show such discrimination. Among those self-employed, the percentage (33.6%) of the richer half quintile is not so obviously distinct from the percentage (40.6%) of the poorer half quintile (Mahmood 2005). However, the above simple figures may possibly conceal the actual discrimination in the informal sector, as the following questions remain unanswered. Does the informal sector discriminate against the poor seeking access to desirable 'entrepreneurial' self-employment, i.e. sustainable micro-enterprise with skills, credits and business relationships, in contrast to 'survival' and 'subsistence' self-employment? Also, would it be superficial and naïve to say that there exists a relatively 'equal' distribution of self-employment in the informal sector, since the percentage of the poor self-employed (40.6%) coincides with the percentage of those living under poverty line (35-40%, as mentioned)? The country still lacks relevant and detailed data, yet it is likely that there is discrimination against the poor in both formal and informal sectors. This case seems even more likely if the social-cultural, economic and administrative barriers (as described above) experienced by the poor are taken into account.

In the next section, I shall examine whether the present system and current education reforms help poor and vulnerable young people to overcome the barriers, or reinforce them. If the national education system creates as many problems as solutions, to what degree could the management of NGOs (Chapter 3) and pedagogy of vocational education (Chapter 4) help under-employed and unemployed young people weather discrimination in the labour market, and simultaneously gain desirable work such as waged employment and entrepreneurial self-employment?

2.4 Educational Vulnerability of Young People

Will the current (post-1994) educational reform in Cambodia be able to respond to the vulnerable socio-cultural and economic context in which young people find themselves? To what extent can the state's educational planning and system help boost the employment and empowerment of those youths? In this section, I shall argue that there is a mismatch between education and employment in Cambodia. General primary schooling is concerned with loyal citizenship rather than being job-oriented, and the knowledge imparted promotes unrealistic expectations of white-collar, waged employment among young people. While general tertiary education (colleges and universities) remains a domain of rich people, and the formal TVET institutions are too few, the current educational reforms being immersed in the Cambodia's political culture are unlikely to move the social and economic situation of young people onto more equal terms.

2.4.1 Physical and Affordable Access to Education

Education, as one manifestation of the country's social policy formulation and implementation, reveals the unfavourable attitude of national politicians towards vulnerable young people. Regarding the school infrastructure, the ratios of primary to lower secondary schools were about 5017 to 350 in 1997/98 and 5274 to 503 in 1999/2000 (Bray 1999; MoEYS 2001). On the one side this shows that access to primary education in Cambodia has been widened in the wake of the Education for All (EFA) and UN MDGs Universal Primary Education (UPE) discourse, but on the other, it demonstrates the difficulty of gaining access to secondary education and above. Only one out of ten primary graduates may get the chance to complete a 9-year, basic education (6 in primary, plus 3 in lower secondary) in Cambodia, let alone the fact

that those opportunities are usually left to the wealthiest 20% of the country, as they are the only ones who can afford it (FRD 2001).

Article 68 of the constitution of Cambodia declares that ‘*the state shall provide free primary and (lower) secondary education to all citizens in public schools. Citizens shall receive education for at least 9 years*’. Notwithstanding that the figures for net enrolment in primary schools indicate significant increases to 89% and 92% respectively for the years 2003 and 2004, the net enrolment rates were only 19% and 20% in lower secondary schools in Cambodia (ADB Media Center 2004). Cambodia, like many other developing nations has gradually approached universal primary enrolment, but universal primary completion remains to be realised. As in Table 2.5, the completion rates in 2001 indicate the low likelihood of Cambodian students completing primary schooling and lower secondary education.

Table 2.5: Completion, repetition and dropout rates in primary and lower-secondary schooling

	Completion (%)	Repetition (%)			Dropout (%)		
Year	00/01	98/99	00/01	02/03	98/99	00/01	02/03
Grade I	89.1	37.8	17.5	19.0	11.2	13.5	13.8
Grade II	86.8	24.2	10.3	11.6	12.4	11.1	13.3
Grade III	81.2	17.6	8.1	9.1	12.9	9.6	11.0
Grade IV	73.3	11.4	5.6	6.4	14.7	10.4	10.2
Grade V	65.0	6.5	3.5	4.2	15.4	11.9	11.2
Grade VI	55.9	3.1	2.3	2.1	15.1	11.5	10.7
lower-secondary schooling							
Grade VII	48.0	1.9	2.1	2.4	21.8	15.0	20.9
Grade VIII	41.2	1.8	1.8	2.1	23.0	12.5	17.3
Grade IX	34.9	12.8	9.5	11.2	29.7	25.0	26.2

Source adapted from: MoEYS (2001:22); World Bank (2005b:19&22)

More strikingly, the high dropout and repetition rates (as shown in Table 2.5) in both primary and lower secondary schools indicate the high opportunity costs of education, and the grievous burden they place upon household budgets. ‘Opportunity costs’ not only refer to the direct expenses of education such as uniforms and equipment in schools plus ‘top-up’ fees to pay for unofficial tutorials, but also include high indirect costs like transport, lunch and especially sacrificed work time. Given that most young people have an inescapable compulsion to earn money for family or/and personal survival, their economic activity is usually carried out at the price of surrendering their own right to education. Having been burdened with high opportunity costs, in 2004 Cambodia’s households were reported to take a larger proportion (55.6% and 65.9% respectively) of the total cost of primary and lower secondary schools, while the government took a smaller proportion of 44.4% and 34.1% (MoEYS 2004a; Bray and Bunly 2005; World Bank 2005b). Households’ direct expenditure on public schooling, as calculated by the Ministry of Education Youth and Sports (MoEYS) Cambodia, is higher than governmental contributions.

2.4.2 Relevant and Meaningful Access to Education

Apart from longstanding questions about available and affordable basic education, relevant and meaningful access is also a problem for vulnerable young people (ADB Media Center 2004; NGO Education Partnership 2004; NGO Education Partnership 2006). Until present times Cambodia’s political culture, which can be traced back to the ancient and prosperous Angkorean Empire of the 9th – early 15th century, has been characterised as a winner-take-all hegemony filled with patron-client relationships (Tan 2007). This political culture has had a direct impact on the national education system. From children’s access to education where some are enrolled in the first place

but some are not, to the recruitment of teachers and non-teaching staff are often associated with some reward of loyalty or the opportunity for a bribe (Duggan 1996; Brown 1997; Bray 1999; Ayres 2000a; Ayres 2000b). Both rewards and bribery, over and above management performance and quality assurance in schools, jeopardize relationships between schools and their communities. School staff who wish to act professionally and have the potential to implement educational reform are those most likely to leave the education sector (NGO Education Partnership 2004; NGO Education Partnership 2006). As a result, whether situated in tradition or modernity education in Cambodia has long been an arena where politicization rather than professionalisation of governance holds sway (Ayres 2003).

Apart from the above, since 1994 national education reform in Cambodia has meant heavy investment in the expansion of general education, seeking to produce good law-abiding citizens and establishing up a path towards careers in the civil service and modern economic sectors. This expansion has been further popularized by the UPE commitment, generating unrealistic expectations among students of white-collar, waged employment (Ayres 2000a; Ayres 2003; Dy and Ninomiya 2003; Dy 2004). Even worse, its over-emphasis on primary schooling (i.e. putting young people into primary schools) rather than the basic learning needs of young people, on general content and loyalty rather than employable knowledge and critical thinking, have fostered domestic students' worries and depressed (if not cynical) feelings about state education. What should young people do after they graduate from primary schools? To what extent is the current education system relevant to the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people?

I argue that first of all, the current education reform is not job-oriented and thus

employable skills and knowledge are less imparted to the poor, not to mention that the number of them who complete their education remains very low. Without qualifications or graduation certificates, poor people’s access to employment will suffer or be denied. They might also become trapped in low paid jobs and subsistence work, due to their lack of knowledge and skills. The formal systems of TVET (i.e. technical & vocational education and training) in Cambodia contribute to only 0.7 % of the labour force, remaining small-scale and often criticized for favouring the middle-classes rather than the vastly greater poor population (ILO 2002). Secondly, there exists a mismatch between education level and income level in Cambodia. As seen in Table 2.6, people with some tertiary education have lower incomes than those with secondary and primary education, only a little higher than those with no schooling at all. Tertiary education in fact only contributes to 1 % of the workforce (ILO 2002). This mismatch might have an effect on motivation for impoverished young people to get into university or college, as tertiary education seems an expensive investment that only rich people are able to afford.

Table 2.6: Education level by monthly wage and labor force (in 2000)

	Monthly income ('000 riels)		Labor force (%)		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Both genders
No schooling	148	133	16	29	23
Some primary	176	169	52	55	53
Some secondary	213	187	31	16	23
Some tertiary	156	133	1	0	1

Source: MoP, Cambodia (2000)

Table 2.6 indicates that people with some secondary schooling experience enjoy the highest monthly income across both genders, while only representing 23% of



Cambodia's labour force. On the other hand, people with no schooling or some primary education together form the majority of labour force (76% in total; primary education at 53% and no schooling at 23%). Vulnerable young people, as defined in 2.2.2 (p 37), fall into this major group, with various socio-cultural and financial barriers to their entry into secondary schools and above. When looking at the current (post-1994) education reform in Cambodia, this reform is essentially to achieve Education for All (EFA) as clearly reported by the MoYES representative in the UNESCO 46th International Conference on Education (Sethy 2001). However, the government's interpretation and implementation of EFA is to focus on supply-side intervention in free, universal primary schooling and particularly, on constructing more public schools, providing teaching materials, training more teachers and reducing familial educational costs (Tan 2007). On the bright side, the increasing equality in primary school enrolment has contributed to the higher literacy rates amongst the young people in Cambodia (World Bank 2007b). On the debit side, the final and probably the most significant phenomenon resulting from the country's education reform is that, instead of being unemployed and under-employed, vulnerable young people have increasingly become **educated** unemployed and under-employed since the reforms were launched.

Following the above arguments, I might be able to answer the question raised earlier and conclude that the relevance of national education reform to the needs of young people in employment and empowerment is finite. The present education system is not a whole solution to the issues of socially excluded and economically deprived young people in the country; in fact, the political culture and economic environment rather than education alone have the greatest impact upon young people's empowerment and employment. However, education is valued here in the belief that learning leads to a

better future. The country's transition from a communist state to a liberal democracy (after 1993), the inevitable interaction with world politics and the rapid move toward economic openness all indicate the importance of education in Cambodia. Young people need to be equipped and prepared for understanding and participation in negotiations with the successive processes of modernization, and global influences on domestic politics and economy (Clayton 2005). Having realized that the current education reform may have failed to do so, more flexible, comprehensive and meaningful programmes of vocational education have been promoted recently in Cambodia (UNESCO 2004; UNESCO 2004a; UNESCO Bangkok 2005; NGO Education Partnership 2006). This might mean compensation for opportunity costs, flexibility of learning methods, time and settings, and possible measures to combat the various socio-economic barriers to education. It also very much means the provision of a responsive curriculum together with employable skills and knowledge, capacity and the right attitude to meet economic needs and an awareness of social uplift and the responsibility of young people themselves (Torres 2002; Torres 2004). In short, to match what most young people need for their better employability, and what is actually provided in education.

In view of this, this doctoral research intends to explore the managerial and pedagogic constituents of effective intervention by NGOs in vocational education in Cambodia. In particular for vulnerable young, how could NGOs cooperate with the government to foster their social and economic equality? To answer this, the distinctive management and organizational nature of NGOs and the pedagogy of vocational education in the existing literature will be reviewed in the following two chapters.

Chapter 3 NGO Distinctive Management

3.1 Introduction

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which are categorized as a sub-group of the third sector (i.e. ‘not-for-profit’, private, voluntary organizations that are a part of civil societies), have a long history of commitment to poverty reduction and social justice in developing countries. Due to its high public approval and long-term involvement within the framework of international development cooperation, the partnership between NGOs, state governments, the business world and other civic actors has expanded in recent years. It is also the case that reliance upon social service deliveries and the advocacy of structural changes through NGOs has increased (Edwards and Hulme 1996; Lewis 2003; Unerman and O'Dwyer 2006). The number of NGOs registered with the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) is also on the increase, according to the Cooperation Committee for Cambodia (CCC 2005a). Although the number of international NGOs (INGOs) fluctuated within a relatively stable range of 200-300, indigenous Cambodian NGOs (officially termed as ‘local NGOs’ in Cambodia) had grown at a good pace up to number over 1000 in 2002. This chapter, therefore, draws attention to these distinctive components of NGO management that might contribute to (or undermine) their organizational effectiveness in development work.

Effectiveness here is conceived as a social construct that is situation-specific, dynamic and changes over time (Fowler and Pratt 1997; Herman and Renz 1999). Derived from the arguments over NGOs’ intervention (i.e. the account and analyses of NGOs’ role

in international development), the organizational characteristics of NGOs are accordingly identified as well as differentiated from those of other development actors, such as aid-recipient governments (the public sector), commercial organizations (the for-profit, private sector) and multi-/bi-lateral aid agencies in the international aid system. Based on these insight into NGOs' organizational strengths and weaknesses, I have come to understand that an NGO might be considered effective if its management is fine-tuned to match its organizational characteristics (i.e. organizational strength and weakness), with its development context (i.e. opportunities and threats in the developing world and international aid industry) and development tasks (i.e. poverty reduction and social justice) in order to satisfy or influence its primary stakeholders, the service beneficiaries, and other stakeholders such as donors, funders, employees etc. Yet until today there has been relatively little systematic, academic research into the ideas of NGO management and this is a comparatively recent development, in comparison to the abundant research that has been undertaken into the public, private (for-profit), and third (voluntary) sectors. The existing literature, whether fundamentally for or against NGOs' intervention and operation, grounds its arguments in rather scattered, limited evidence or in the personal experience of practitioners in the field (Billis and MacKeith 1993; Fowler and Pratt 1997; Lewis 2003). Also, as it is unlikely that I shall be able to discuss in detail all the aspects of NGO management in this chapter, the preference and focus of conceptualization of NGO management here would be on its composite and organizational perspectives. By doing so, some relatively important spheres of NGO management would be highlighted to better inform my later design of a conceptual framework (in 5.2).

'Composite perspectives' are drawn upon here because of the fact that NGO

operations are founded upon management theories and practice in the public, for-profit and third sectors. Corresponding to the lessons learnt from NGO managers' and practitioners' experience, Lewis (2003) suggests that the distinctiveness of NGO management may be viewed in hybrid and composite terms. That is, NGOs demonstrate a profound improvisational use and flexible combinations (rather than straightforward application) of management ideas, techniques and tools from the other three broader and much mature sectors. In composite terms, NGO management could not be mapped and clarified alone, without having regard to its multiple sources.

On the other hand, 'organizational perspective' based on Organization Theory would further serve as a means of explanation, helping to analyze such improvisation and its effect upon NGOs' service delivery. What lies at the heart of the propositions of Organization Theory is that effectiveness might be achieved if an organization does well in managing to adapt itself to the changes occurring in its external environment (Morgan 1989; Mckinley and Mone 2003). In other words, Organization Theory in relation to NGO management will especially shed light upon the question of how a NGO exploits its own organizational strengths and simultaneously overcomes its organizational weaknesses, so as to deal with opportunities and threats in the development context where a NGO is situated. With the special analytical lens of Organization Theory, managerial components that are important to the effectiveness of an NGO may be addressed and explored.

3.2 NGO Organisational Characteristics

3.2.1 Defining NGOs

The term ‘non-governmental organization (NGO)’ was first created by the United Nations in 1949 and legitimated in Article 71 of Chapter X ‘The Economic and Social Council’ in the Charter of the United Nations, where the consultative status of NGOs within the UN system is specified (Nachmias 1999). What is the real meaning of NGO, especially if we look beyond the literal expression? At first sight, the definition is straightforward: NGOs are organizations which are **not** governmental organizations (for example state-owned schools and hospitals), or more plausibly, they are organizations in which states do not openly get involved (Holmen and Jirstrom 1994). Indeed, the term ‘non-governmental organization’ literally conveys little about what an NGO is, and the prefix ‘**Non-**’ merely explains what it is not (Rahman 2002). This negative type of definition might turn out to be over-simplified, especially in contrast to the real NGO world where its identity, functions and subsequent conceptualization have developed in a very diverse and contestable way (Fernando and Heston 1997). ‘NGO’ covers a multitude of intentions and functions: from immediate emergency relief to sustainable livelihood development, from secular charities to religious missionaries, from medical or educational services at localities to international lobby groups over various development issues such as human rights, basic education, gender equality, health, environment protection. In addition, the legislated name ‘NGO’ has been used frequently by a broad spectrum of organizations for the purpose of public and legal acknowledgement; and in some cases it is abused by terrorist and secret societies, or used as a disguise for the selfish ambitions of commercial individuals and political parties. Such diversity and contestability are unlikely to produce a final and decisive consensus, partially because the growing number and importance of NGOs in

contemporary civil societies make them even more difficult to define and measure; partly because there exist blurred and subtle organizational boundaries between NGOs, public and commercial sectors. Many NGOs are in fact ‘quasi-NGOs’, which are either established by governments (albeit registered as NGOs), or exclusively receive resources from the official aid provided by industrial northern governments so as to make the recipients amenable to (and reluctant to challenge) the foreign policies of those countries. On the other hand, the organizational relationship between NGOs and for-profit, private sector is also increasingly ambiguous. More NGOs invest in profitable activities in markets, and practise their own enterprises in the name of organizational sustainability (Brown 1997; Fugere 2001). A tendency has emerged for NGOs to adopt managerial values and techniques akin to those in the business world.

Despite the complexities and ambiguities that must be recognized if we are to understand NGOs, the following definitions given separately by the United Nations and Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) may, by and large, offer us a flavour of what the organizational characteristics and boundaries of an NGO should be:

By the United Nations:

‘NGO is a not-for-profit, voluntary citizens’ group, which is organized on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good. Task-oriented and made up of people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizens’ concerns to Governments, monitor policy and programme implementation, and encourage participation of civil society stakeholders at the community level. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international

agreements. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, the environment or health. ' (United Nations, 2005, cited by Gray, Bebbington et al. 2006)

By the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC):

'NGO (is) a private, voluntary, not-for-profit organization, supported at least in part by voluntary contributions from the public or from other donor institutions.' (The Council for Development of Cambodia 2002)

Note: The Council for Development of Cambodia (CDC) is the highest decision-making level of the government in overall charge of external aid-coordination and management.

Accordingly, being categorised as a sub-group of private, voluntary and not-for-profit organizations (i.e. a sub-group of the third sector), NGOs not only inherit their voluntary nature and moral motivation from the third sector, but also have their roots in civil societies where NGOs support communities and grassroots development. NGOs are thus essentially differentiated from the for-profit, commercial sectors (given NGOs' normative and humanitarian values) and from state governments (given NGOs' functions across territorial boundaries and borders), as evidenced in the UN and RGC definitions. Nachmias (1999) terms this a 'functional definition'. By functional definition, NGOs possess functional sovereignty in both emergency and development work, in consultative partnership with the territorial sovereignty of states. In other words, NGOs work as an alternative to failing governments, or/and in collaboration with them. Rather than being directed by the states and accountable to governmental bureaucracy, NGOs are supposed to enjoy more autonomous efficiency to reach the resource-poor and vulnerable people over selected development issues in

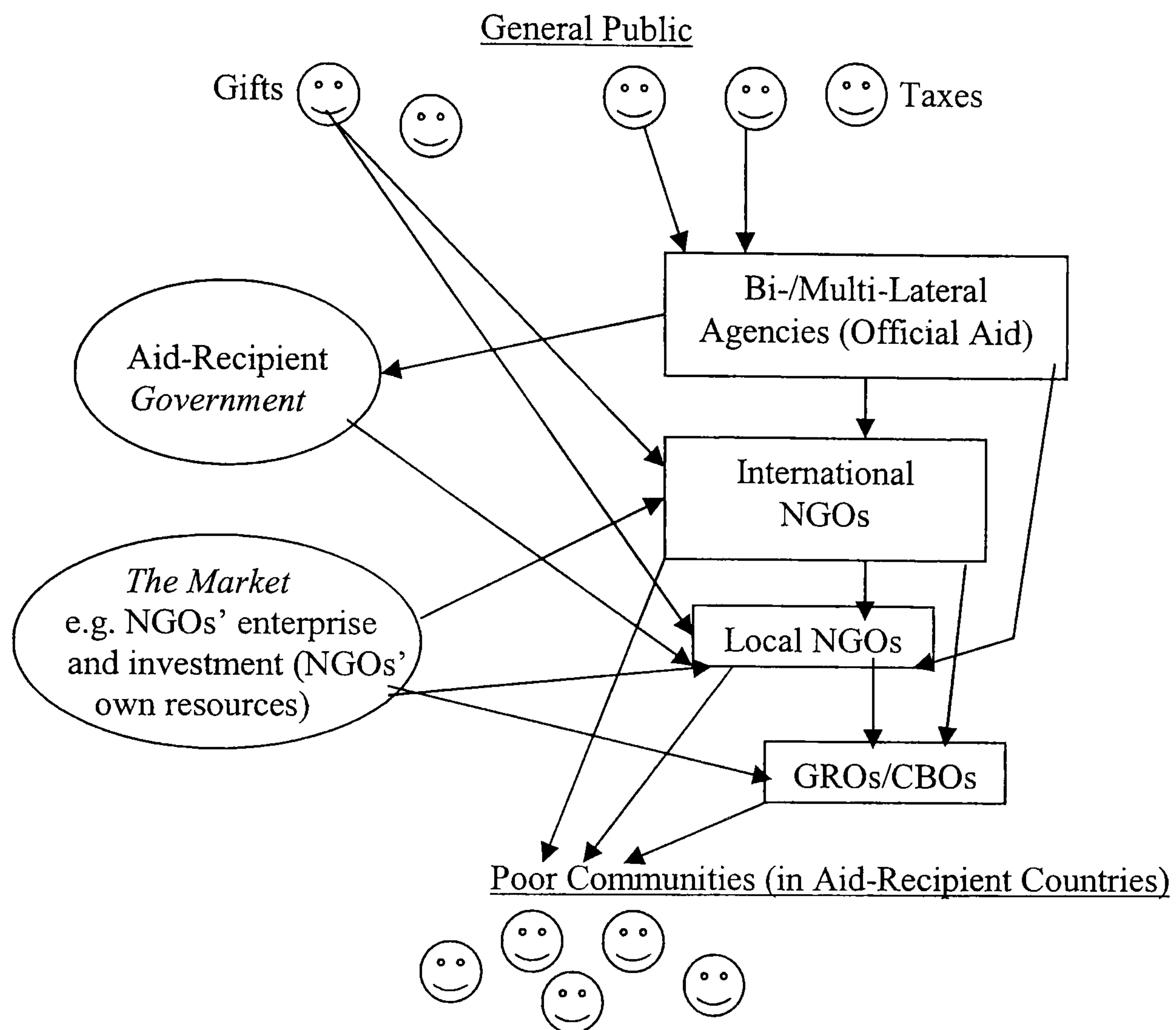
a context of development. Accordingly, NGOs are also habitually understood as being ‘development non-government organizations’, emphasizing the environmental differences between NGOs and the rest of the third sector. The former operate mainly in developing countries, whereas the latter in general target the common good and pre-act or react to public issues in industrial countries (Uphoff 1995).

As mentioned earlier, NGOs are members of the group of civic actors. The relations between NGOs and civil societies might be made more clear if we look at the distinction between a ‘non-governmental organisation (NGO)’ and a ‘grassroots organisation (GRO)’ (Holmen and Jirstrom 1994; Edwards and Hulme 1995; Dichter 1997; Fowler and Pratt 1997). The latter is analogous to ‘community-based organisation (CBO)’. The most significant disparity between NGOs and GROs/CBOs lies in their dissimilar structures of accountability. GROs/CBOs are formally accountable to their members, who are usually the service beneficiaries in the South, while NGOs have accountability not only to their beneficiaries (i.e. the primary stakeholders) but also to their funders and donors. GROs/CBOs are solely owned and managed by the people in the South. By comparison, NGOs are registered as either ‘*international NGOs*’ (i.e. northern NGOs) that operate in the South while having their roots in the higher-income countries of the North, or ‘local NGOs’ (i.e. southern and eastern NGOs) that originate in aid-recipient countries of the South and Eastern Europe. Hence, in contrast to GROs/CBOs, NGOs are characterized as organizations ‘in’ civil societies but not necessarily ‘of’ those civil societies where they operate.

The overall relation of NGOs to other development agencies in the aid industry is revealed in Figure 3.1. We can see how NGOs differ from GROs/CBOs again in the manner of their positioning within the industry and as they relate to local communities.

From the viewpoint of taxpayers and the general public in northern countries, NGOs have won higher public approval and a better reputation than other players in the aid chain (Unerman and O'Dwyer 2006). This fact continually encourages and enables NGOs to function like intermediates who are directly engaged in financial, material, technical and personnel support to communities, as well as GROs/CBOs in developing countries. The black arrows in Figure 3.1 signal the direction of how aid resources flow. The one-way arrows however imply financial dependency, and simultaneously mark the top-down and supply-driven relationship underpinning the whole aid industry where NGOs, as intermediates, are in fact less demand-driven by the needy themselves than by willing expatriates or local elites. Such organizational characteristics as 'charity', 'gifts' or a 'patronizing manner' at the same time leave the identity of NGOs to be challenged and questioned in the current ethos of people-centred, self-reliant development and bottom-up social activism that is developing within contemporary civil societies.

Figure 3.1: NGOs in the aid industry and financial dependency



Note:

- * The figure is adjusted from the sources: Fowler and Pratt (1997), Edwards and Fowler (2002).
- * Gifts = funds given voluntarily by individuals, groups, civic organisations or business.
- * Official Aid = tax-based funding sources from northern governments.
- * Bi-lateral Agencies: represent Northern governments' foreign policies e.g. DFID (UK), USAID (USA), SIDA (Sweden) and JICA (Japan).
- * Multi-lateral Agencies: like World Bank, ILO, UNESCO, IOM and IMF.

3.2.2 NGOs in the International Development Context

The emergence of NGOs, whether externally-oriented or indigenous, is a reflection of people's willingness and preference for alternative administrative forms to state offices to provide human services effectively and respond immediately to needs that exist in every walk of life (Salamon 1994; Henderson 1997). Such humanitarian action stemming from a humanitarian intent was earlier legitimated by the UN (as mentioned at the beginning of 3.2.1), but we can trace its historic trajectory back to the 16th century when missionaries and charitable organizations originating in Europe and North America began their transnational activities during the time of colonization. On a voluntary basis, those organizations (commonly involved in educational services and medical aid) nonetheless developed an inter-dependent relationship with colonist governments. Through the provision of charitable gifts like free education, their transnational activities helped maintain the status quo of colonial rule and reinforced their home governments' foreign policies and interests overseas (Suzuki 1998).

To reflect upon modern history, the rise of NGOs has come to be seen as supply-driven by the northern donor countries (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Fugere 2001) and so is their ebb and flow. The end of the Cold War in 1991 is particularly seen as a watershed. When the Cold War ended, with a historical farewell to a world that was previously divided into the two camps of communism and capitalism, the presupposition of a need to pour such a magnitude of grants and loans in order to maintain that dichotomous world order seemed to exist no longer. Instead, the watershed in fact unveiled several important shifts within international development context:

Firstly, a fundamental change of international aid policies urged a move from

short-term and urgent humanitarian relief to long-term, structural economic and social development. Secondly, both industrial and poorer countries were overwhelmed by a political, economic and ideological shift from the confrontation between capitalism and communism to a capitalist-dominant world, from the government-led Keynesian economy to a globalised, neo-liberal, laissez-faire market. An equivalent term '*New World Order (NWO)*' (Ayres 2000b) or '*New Policy Agenda (NPA)*' was created (Edwards and Hulme 1995). Under the NWO or NPA, 'development' is equal to a modernizing process and more precisely, prone to 'economic development' (Goldsmith 2001). What comes hand in hand with the promotion of the political right for a market-oriented and integrationist economy is an appeal to neo-liberal democratization and civil society, as the latter are regarded as essential to the success of economic development (Edwards and Hulme 1995). Thirdly, NGOs accordingly experience a transition from traditional charities, to emergency-relief agencies, to organizations for social change.

NGOs, being civic actors in support of bottom-up demands, are simultaneously gripped in the international aid chain and must conform to the top-down order. They have constantly struggled with this contradictory and dilemmatic identity. Under the NWO or NPA, the official aid nurturing NGOs' intervention in local communities has not only enhanced the dependency of both NGOs and communities on external donors' support, but also diminished the possibility of self-reliant, self-decisive and alternative community development in the South. Whilst the intentions of the political right may be good in seeking to encourage an innovative, ground-up, participatory and democratic approach towards development, such intentions are later contradicted by a patronizing and top-down process of decision making in global politics and undermined by the narrow notion of 'development'. Two decades after the end of the

Cold War, it could be said that a world is none the less being split into two: from a divide between capitalism and communism to a widening gap between the 'developing' South and 'developed' North. In the face of their own dilemmatic identity and a new dichotomous world, NGO practitioners however perceive and expect their role and goals as being to transform the social and economic relationships of vulnerable people to others on more equal terms. Hence, more than merely achieving economic growth and fulfilling physical needs, NGOs have broadly conceptualized 'development' as a dynamic process to widen participation in decision-making at all levels, to encourage people-centred priorities and well-being initiatives, to seek social justice and to celebrate cultural plurality and sensitivity (Oakley, Pratt et al. 1998; Suzuki 1998; Fugere 2001). Not surprisingly, there appears a continuous negotiation and dialogue among NGOs, donor governments, the business world and other interested groups to re-define 'development' and re-inscribe the 'development context'.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, the blossoming number, size and significance of both northern and more southern NGOs was particularly rapid during 1985-1995, when 'the golden age of NGOs' (as termed by Fugere, 2001) began. International donors' preference for NGOs rather than southern governments could be ascribed to the following three reasons. One is donors' previous negative experience with southern governments. Based on their experience, the political culture, capacity and accountability of those governments are put into question. Many southern governments are accused of dysfunction because of their corruption, bureaucratic inefficiency, traditionally political culture based in hegemony that obscures nation-states progress towards modernization (Brown 1997). Next, the World Bank and IMF have systematically reduced funding given to southern governments in order

to promote Structural Adjustment (SA) policies, by which the public sector is privatized and vacant public services are filled by the 'for-profit' and 'not-for-profit' private sectors. The final element is donors' expectation that NGOs will perform in a voluntary, community-based and cost-effective way. In other words, by claiming to be cheaper and more effective at reaching the poor and disenfranchised who remain untouched by the government's public services, NGOs have taken the opportunity to gather both funding and status as key agents in international development. For those reasons it was estimated that more than 50,000 NGOs were operating in developing countries and the number has been increasing, according to the UNDP *Human Development Report* (1994). Also, the number of international NGOs (i.e. INGOs) had risen from 1470 in the year 1964, to 4676 in 1985 and 7261 by 2004, as calculated in the *Yearbook of International Organizations* 2003-2004 (UIA 2004). In reality, these official figures might not include all the activities and operations of NGOs (UNDP 1994).

The flourishing body of NGOs during the ten prosperous years (1985-1995) very much received the financial resource from bi-lateral and multi-lateral donor agencies. To take the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as an instance, the percentage of the DAC foreign aid allocated to NGOs increased three-fold from 3.6% in 1985 to 10% in 1995. The proportion of official aid channeled through NGOs has continued to increase, despite the fact that the total amount of official aid in the post-Cold War era has gradually declined. Again, as evidenced in the DAC, the total of DAC foreign aid declined slightly between 1985 and 1995 from 0.34% of gross national product (GNP) to 0.27%. Similar to aid in Cambodia, NGO's disbursements rose from \$64 million in 1996 to \$72 million in 1997, of which, however, 56% (in 1996) and 70% (in 1997)

respectively came from NGO's own resources other than official aid (Peou and Yamada 2000). These statistics clearly indicate that bilateral and multilateral investment is steadily diminishing, while the reduction is being offset by a variety of increasing financial inputs from civil societies. The first question is therefore: will civic societies instead of donor governments make NGOs more accountable? Next, will NGOs' development policies and implementation be driven much less by donor governments' top-down order, than grassroots communities' bottom-up demands? The answers to the questions are as yet unclear, except that as long as NGOs are able to resolve the ongoing dilemma of identity (as described earlier) and to maintain their high level of public approval, these multiple sources might at least contribute to degree of grassroots initiative, autonomy and innovation by NGOs in the context of international development.

3.2.3 Strengths and Weaknesses: why NGOs?

So, how can societies make best use of NGOs as a means of intervention in international development? What are their organizational advantages and disadvantages? Do they really perform as well as they say? The question becomes more pressing as the weaknesses of NGOs become more apparent. NGOs, as relatively small agencies of change, are usually criticized for their ad-hoc, piecemeal approach, poor coordination with other development agencies, relatively insecure resources and in general their lack of capacity for programme replication or scaling-up. Especially for those NGOs whose major funding comes from bilateral or multilateral agencies, their service delivery is in fact largely shaped by supply (rather than demand) in a de-contextualising way. Not surprisingly, the structural causes and roots of human disadvantage are therefore not much addressed by NGOs (Fernando and Heston 1997;

Fugere 2001; Lewis 2001).

In addition, NGOs' operations are often socio-culturally constrained and sometimes, intrusive. While an international NGO is likely to impose itself on the social norms of a community rather than making a conflation (Davison and Martinsons, 2002), the local NGO's organizational culture is more likely to strengthen the power of local elites and the existing social order. Both international and local NGOs have socio-cultural barriers to adopting a ground-up approach and channeling resources to the most needy people. Given the above pitfalls, NGOs' intervention should not only be a matter of charity, for fear that it will undermine the recipient governments' ownership along with their obligations (King 1998).

So, why NGOs? The answer is based upon the premise of NGOs' organizational strength in countries where trust in social relationships is fragile and public responsibility is neglected by state bureaucrats. Southern governments are usually characterized by lack of resources, with corrupt systems rather than professional governance, and with a hidden political agenda that is shaped by the elite's interests. NGOs, by comparison, give the impression of being less affected by political instability and political hostility, and of being less vulnerable to unexpected upheaval than the public sector. Moreover, as the daily needs and livelihood development of resource-poor people can not wait for the slow, inefficient changes in a state's macro political and economic environments, the lesson to be learnt from NGOs' service delivery is the ability to be pragmatic in order to respond most effectively to urgent local realities (Grierson 1997; Sternberg 1997; Reed 2002). This research thus proposes that, in the light of southern governments' ineffectiveness, NGOs might successfully play an important intermediary role (albeit not necessarily the best role)

in the context of international development. Having recognized the organizational nature and characteristics of NGOs, next my attention is drawn to the question of distinctive management in NGOs: i.e. how could the effectiveness of NGOs best be realized and maximized, in order that they might cooperate successfully with other development agencies and, in particular, complement the work of southern governments?

NGOs hold the high moral ground, which often shields them from criticism but also from the chance to improve (Fowler, 1997). Good management needs to be clearly addressed, as neither poor people nor anyone else should be satisfied with ineffective services and less than adequate treatment. In the following section I will argue that an NGO might be most effective if its management is fine-tuned to match its organizational characteristics (i.e. organizational strengths and weaknesses) with its development context (i.e. opportunities and threats in the 'developing' world) and specific development tasks, so as to satisfy its service beneficiaries and influence other stakeholders. This argument will be conceptualized and analyzed by means of two perspectives, composite and organizational, on the management of NGOs.

3.3 Composite Perspective on NGO Management

3.3.1 Sourcing NGO Management

‘NGO management’ as a relatively young subject in academic research seemingly lags behind the demands and needs of NGO managers and practitioners. However, this deficiency has encouraged NGO managers to find feasible and flexible solutions, and to identify some short cuts for themselves, by breaking down the boundaries between different sectors of management knowledge: the public, private and third sectors. By drawing upon the abundant existing managerial techniques and concepts drawn from the other three, NGO management could be greatly enriched and then organized (and re-organized) in a contextualizing process.

Prior to seeking to understand the trends and challenges in NGO management, its composite nature needs to be articulated at the beginning. As Campbell (1987) and Lewis (2003) suggest, knowledge of managing an NGO is sourced from three broader and well-studied sectors: the public, the private (for-profit), and the third (voluntary) sectors. Many NGO managers have demonstrated their improvisational use and flexible combination of ideas, techniques and tools from these three. The following table displays the popular ideas and techniques that already inform NGO management:

Table 3.1: Managerial ideas and techniques adopted by NGOs

Management Sources	The (for-profit) private sector <i>(i.e. the major source)</i>	The public sector <i>(i.e. both northern and southern governments)</i>	The third sector <i>(mainly, northern voluntary organizations)</i>
Popular Ideas & Techniques of Management	Stakeholder Analysis	Accountability	Volunteer Management
	Strategic (Rolling) Planning	Empowerment	Fundraising
	Management by Objectives	Capacity Building	Governing Bodies and Boards
	Performance Measurement	Participation	Participatory Evaluation
	Learning Organization	Equal Opportunities	Advocacy

Source: adapted from Lewis (2003)

As shown above, the majority of NGO managers take their knowledge and experience from business enterprises, while they also seek sources in governmental agencies and from the third sector of northern countries. This knowledge and expertise is later attuned to the organizational characteristics of their NGO and to the particular context of development, in order to address development tasks and the issues of poverty reduction and social justice. The contextual features, whether referring to political, economic and socio-cultural environments in developing countries or in the aid industry, have been discussed in 3.2 and Chapter 2. It should be borne in mind that neither tasks nor context may be separated from the analysis and discussion of NGO management here. As Campbell (1987) clearly points out, NGO management is by no means an apolitical and technocratic thing; in other words, it can not be de-contextualized when I turn to take a closer look at NGO organizational effectiveness.

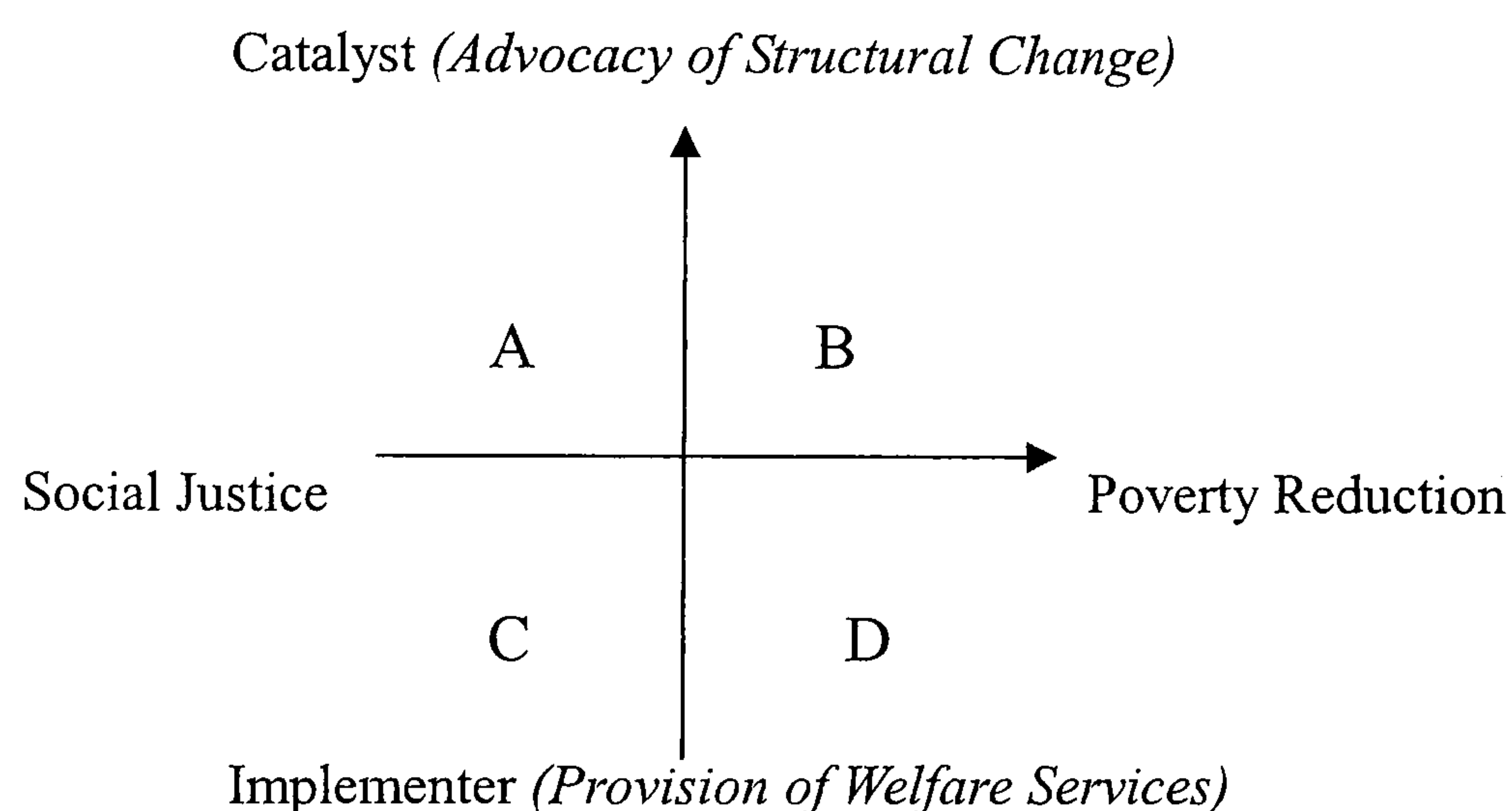
3.3.2 Managing to Be Effective

The position of NGOs in the aid industry might be easier understood and explained with the analogy of middle managers in a big company. A middle manager is closer to the frontline staff than is the governing board, while in comparison with frontline staff he is less distant from the top decision-making level. This position has implications for NGO effectiveness, as far as their intermediary role is concerned. NGOs firmly remain in-between, in the hope of appropriately promoting grassroots development while simultaneously evoking support and change from the powerful. Based on this idea NGOs do not just function as service providers or implementers at the micro level, which is however, likely to maintain the status quo at the macro level. They also commit themselves to advocate change in structural causes (as catalysts) at the macro level. The former refers to activities that directly meet the immediate needs of poor people, such as micro finance, credit provision, training, literacy classes and capacity building. The latter level of activity, by contrast, means lobbying for or against the interests of the powerful and this may include policy advocacy, monitoring public reform and compliance at the local, national or global level. Thus, being a good intermediate at different levels of development implies the need to be effective both as implementer and catalyst.

As an implementer, the effectiveness of a NGO is comparatively measurable and tangible. Its service delivery often proves to be more timely and efficient, especially when compared with governmental agencies. However, this effectiveness becomes more questionable when services are to be provided in conjunction with the role of catalyst which contributes to broader and more intangible tasks (e.g. gender equality, AIDS awareness and human rights). The conjunction may be seen in Figure 3.2, and

the various combinations of A, B, C and D indicate the complex nature of NGOs. Before setting out an organizational vision, policy, objectives, strategic planning, tactics, structure and means of responding, the crucial prerequisite for organizing and managing a NGO is to identify its specific development role (either as implementer, catalyst or both) and to focus on a particular development task (either social justice, poverty reduction or both). The problem is that when NGOs encounter unexpected difficulties and complexities such as resource dependency or deficits they will neglect the quality and effectiveness of their performance in the broader tasks seen in A and B, as both are rather intangible and thus less measurable and observable by donors and others (Carroll 1992; Billis and MacKeith 1993).

Figure 3.2: Development roles in conjunction with development tasks



Apart from the above problems, NGOs have increased greatly in number, scale, income and ambition. Their management has correspondingly experienced a process of professionalization and formalization by adopting a multitude of managerial techniques and tools as described in 3.3.1. This actual, rapid growth has also brought new challenges for NGOs' effectiveness: the importance of re-building the linkage between organizational growth and adequate managerial means, and re-orientating organizational effectiveness to satisfy as well as influence stakeholders (Campbell

1987; Clark 1991; Hodson 1992; Billis and MacKeith 1993; Lewis 2003).

The definition of effectiveness, according to Fowler and Pratt (1997), refers to achieving positive impacts at an appropriate level of effort and cost, and to cope well with the necessary tasks within available resources. The question is: what is meant by the words 'positive' and 'appropriate', since NGO effectiveness is in fact a social construction that can be properly understood and evaluated only in its specific development context (Herman and Renz 1999). In this sense, although the social construction of NGO effectiveness is neither standardized nor necessarily stable, Herman and Renz (1999) found that for NGOs that are very effective, their stakeholder groups' agreement and judgment of effectiveness are much more consistent and common. In other words, NGO stakeholders agree more about what high performing NGOs are than about what poorer performers might be.

Nevertheless, in many cases where disagreement and differences exist between different stakeholder groups, the opinions of the primary stakeholders (i.e. service beneficiaries) rather than the secondary stakeholders (i.e. donors and funders) are much more readily ignored by NGOs managers, owing to their financial dependency in the aid chain. It may therefore become a vicious circle where financial dependency leads NGOs' managers to be less concerned with the service users' perspective on effectiveness but rather seek to please the donors' and donators', and this in turn further encourages the financial dependency of NGOs. As far as resource availability is concerned, ironically those managers might know what they ought to do, but they are simply unable to re-structure their NGO towards a balance between the service donors' viewpoints and those of the service users.

Many such ‘balances’ are recognized in the existing literature as being key to NGO effectiveness. Fowler (1997) and Billis and MacKeith (1993) suggest that NGOs will be more effective at producing a sustainable impact upon increasing income generation and social justice for poor people, if some of these ‘balances’ are successfully organized and managed as follows:

Inside the organization:

- between service users’ needs, and organizational needs to raise funds;
- between poor people’s survival, and NGO organizational survival;
- between opinions of frontline staff and those of the governing board;
- between democratic and bureaucratic approaches to making decisions;
- between organizational capacities and material resources.

Outside the organization:

- between tangible impacts which reduce poverty, and intangible ones which reinforce citizens’ participation;
- between the expertise, links, resources and power of outsiders and the knowledge, experience, motivation and values of the poor people;
- between external inputs and the local mobilization of resources;
- between institutional linkages at local, national and global levels of development, for leverage to gain structural changes and for changes in public policies, local government system or reforms in the international order.

To further understand how NGOs as intermediates manage such ‘balances’, ‘*organizational perspective*’ based on Organization Theory will be used in the following section as another analytic lens. Through the lens of Organization Theory, it

is hoped to see, examine and clarify NGO management, especially with respect to dealing with resource issues and coupling institutional relationships with other development players, including governments, business networks, international agencies, other NGOs and other civil agencies at local, national and international levels.

3.4 Organisational Perspective on NGO Management

Fowler (2002) suggests that Organisation Theory offers the principle and most useful analytical lens for NGO management. The Theory proposes that there exist common organisational and managerial principles among different organisations, but each organisation should still be treated as relatively unique (Hanson 2003). Accordingly, what lies at the heart of the propositions of Organisation Theory is that effectiveness might be achieved if an organisation manages properly and well to adapt itself to changes occurring in its external environment (Morgan 1989; Mckinley and Mone 2003). It highlights significant external influences and the need of managers not only to guide organisational adaptation in accord with the change in stakeholders' interests but also to cope with resource dependency of an organisation, particularly in a contingent and uncertain environment where that organisation is located (Lewis 2001; Edwards and Fowler 2002; Tsoukas and Knudsen 2003). In other words, Organisation Theory in relation to NGO management especially helps conceptualize the intermediate role of a NGO between its beneficiaries and different interest groups. The Theory sheds light upon the question about how a NGO exploits its own organisational strengths and simultaneously overcome its weaknesses, so as to address opportunities and threats in the development context where the NGO is situated. With the analytical lens of Organisation Theory, managerial components that are important for NGO effectiveness may be probed, and the design of my conceptual framework in Chapter 5 might be better informed.

Having realised the complexities of Organisation Theory, the 'micro perspectives of Organisation Theory' as they are termed by Mckinley and Mone (2003) to refer to the

sub-theories of Contingency and Resource Dependency are adopted here, given that:

There are indeed many sub-theories of Organisation Theory that explain, analyse and predict how organisations behave in various organizational structures, cultures, political systems and wider environments. Many of those theories, nonetheless, are incommensurable and contestable against one another. In particular, an overt distinction is usually made between micro- and macro- perspectives, i.e. between the competing stances of *adaptation theorists* and *population ecologists* in Organisation Theory (Morgan 1989). Adaptation theorists stress the relations between individual organizations and their task environment. They argue that an organization should adapt itself to environmental changes. Population ecologists, on the contrary, draw attention to collective organisations under the selection pressures of environments. They focus on the evolution and dynamic changes at the level of whole aggregates of organizations. In this chapter, I emphasise more the micro perspectives (i.e. *adaptation stance*), because of the intention to stand side by side with individual managers of NGOs in dealing with the relationships of a NGO towards other development actors and the wider, outside world. From NGO managers' point of view, Organisation Theory helps them to understand how a NGO might identify patterns in its behavior and performance, take account of contingencies in its wider environment, and modify its structure with reference to a specific context and history in order to pursue a 'fit' between the organisation and its environment (Deazin and Van De Ven A. H. 1985; Davis and Powell 1992; Mckinley and Mone 2003). For that reason, Contingency Theory and Resource Dependency, categorized as micro perspectives in Organisation Theory by Mckinley and Mone (2003), might offer some different insights into NGO management effectiveness. Also, as suggested by many NGO managers and researchers (Lewis 2001; Fowler 2002; Lewis 2007), both Theories of

Contingency and Resource Dependency are the principal, substantial and most appropriate analytic lens to probe NGO-environment relations, and to understand how an NGO might effectively adapt itself to a contingent and resource-unfavourable environment.

3.4.1 Contingency Theory

a. Theoretical Propositions and Logic

What is meant by ‘contingency’? The word ‘contingency’ refers to an internal or external change which an individual organisation has to face, and which evokes some structural adaptation in order that the changing or new situation may be coped with.

As Morgan (1997: 44) summarises, what Contingency Theory reminds managers of individual organisations about is as follows:

- Organisations are open systems which need careful management to satisfy internal needs and to adapt to environmental circumstances;
- There is no one best way of organising. The appropriate form of an organisation depends on the tasks it faces, and the environment that surrounds the organisation;
- Management must be centred on achieving alignment and a good ‘organisation-environment’ fit;
- Different approaches to management may be necessary to perform different tasks within the same organisation;
- Different types of organisation are needed in different types of environments.

To fulfill its task successfully, an organisation will have to overcome the accompanying contingencies occurring in the task environment. In view of this, a contingency could be an increase in, or a change in technological complexities,

organisational size, managerial styles, the interests, motivations and abilities of stakeholders inside or outside the organization, or some environmental uncertainty. To deal with contingencies has implications for organizational effectiveness. Precisely, as Morgan (1989; 1997) indicates in his studies of Contingency Theory, effective organizations succeed in achieving a good 'fit' or 'balance' in two ways: one is to *internally* create a balance among organizational sub-systems and variables, such as managerial, technical, cultural and human systems inside an organization. The other is to *externally* match organizational adaptation with its environmental changes. By contrast, if managers fail to establish a congruent relationship between the levels of structural variables and levels of contingency variables, the 'misfit' or 'imbalance', whether internally or externally, will eventually lead to organizational ineffectiveness (Masuch 1985; Morgan 1989; Morgan 1997; Donaldson 1999; Mckinley and Mone 2003). Donaldson (1999) also suggests that the relation between organization and its outside world is dynamic. In order to properly cope with unexpected contingencies, the development of innovative strategies and tactics is encouraged and usually seen as an effective way to maximize organizational performance. After high performance is produced, additional resources are often reinvested in the growth of the organization's size and technical expertise; and subsequently, reinvestment once again increases other contingencies and 'imbalance'. The new contingencies then require further innovative and responsive management. This cycle is called the 'self-correcting loop' in Donaldson's research (1999). It also implies that the managerial solution itself is very likely to foster more problems or challenges for managers.

b. Implications in NGO Management -- Uncertainty

Due to the diverse and complex nature of NGOs, many concerns about the relation between Contingency Theory and NGO management have been expressed. In

particular, some generalisations about NGO management may be made but these need be treated with caution. The first and the most ambiguous is how 'fit' and 'balance' between NGOs and their development context may be exactly delimited, and then put into practice? Also, it is not easy to maintain the right balance between contradictory expectations, forces and the demands of different stakeholders on the one hand, and to perform complex tasks, especially in an unstable and often hostile environment, on the other. Because of the highly socially-constructed nature of 'effectiveness' (Herman and Renz 1999), management can not be assumed to be a standardized set of methods or recipes. Managers from each NGO are unlikely to be able to predict the exact degree to which structural changes should be undertaken for returning their organization to meet 'fit' and 'balance'. The next limitation is that Contingency Theory only helps us understand the causes and effects of 'growth' – i.e. increase in organizational size, and in technical and environmental complexities, whereas many organizations also conduct the process of 'downsizing' in the NGO world. Downsizing is not yet explained and predicted by Contingency Theory. In the case of such unpredictability in the Theory, one pragmatic way of generating some general principles and relevant knowledge might be to systematically measure performance on the ground, by collecting the best practices of NGO management. Otherwise, managing contingencies in developing countries will continue to be regarded as less a science than an art (Bray 1986).

The relatively unstable environment (especially in terms of social, economic and political influences) in the developing world highlights the central notion of contingency: *uncertainty*. There is less doubt that uncertainty in practice could undermine NGOs managers' efforts and invoke a wave of fear, including the fear of unknown political situations and socio-cultural norms, with deficiency of resources

and information, staff incapacity and so on. However, uncertainty is also recognized as a source of creativity for NGOs managers and indeed, sometimes helps determine internal management factors such as succession to leadership positions (Lewis 2001; Hanson 2003). Although the environmental uncertainty of NGOs may cause work difficulties and conflict, those difficulties and conflicts nonetheless continually stimulate innovation and fuel NGOs' energy and capacities. The 'self-correcting loop' mentioned earlier could be applied to NGO management coping with uncertainty too, as uncertainty in turn is expected to help expand the managerial image and imagination. Contingency Theory is seen as appropriate here, as it promises the hope of enhancing organizational effectiveness in any circumstances (Hodge, Anthony et al. 1996).

3.4.2 Resource Dependency Theory

a. Theoretical Propositions and Logic

Resource Dependency Theory, like Contingency Theory, focuses on the adaptation of each individual organization to the outside world. Apart from this, a fundamental distinction between both micro-perspective theories may be identified: Contingency Theory places its interests in a focal organization's structural and behavioral changes, whilst Resource Dependency particularly stresses the acquisition and mobilization of resources as the decisive factor. As a result, different (resource) dependent relationships, containing intra-dependence within a focal organization and inter-dependent relationships between a focal organization and other organizations in the same task environment come under scrutiny in Resource Dependency Theory.

The degree of dependency is weighed according to the 'magnitude' and 'criticality' of

the resources held by different organizations, and such dependency is in fact mutually-reinforced by power relationship. To say that very simply, if *Organization A* possesses resources critical to *Organization B*, *A* will find it easy to gain or maintain power over *B*. However, if *B* also owns resources non-substitutable to *A*, then a balance of power may be negotiated and a reciprocal relationship possibly established between the two organizations (Masuch 1985). Resources, as a source of power, could refer to human resource, capacities, finance, materials and technical expertise. A manager, by purposefully and skilfully mobilizing resources, would be able to help empower the less powerful, change asymmetrical relationships, and even alter the relationships of a focal organization with other interest groups. Also, for counteracting existing unequal power relationships, the manager of a focal organization may build up horizontal alliances or vertical collaboration with other organizations in the same task environment, in order to get its voice heard and to enhance its impact upon certain tasks. Resource Dependency offers the hope of an organization being able to make changes in its wider environment, or in short, the possibility of being an active social change maker.

b. Implications for NGO Management – ‘2 Rs’

In the current aid chain, many NGOs are in reality both financially and technically reliant on international donor agencies’ support. This reality makes many NGOs gear their performance and priorities to meet their donors’ demands rather than their service users’ needs. Such reliance also results in NGOs’ conformity to management standardization and routines as a top-down demand, rather than encouraging innovative practices that reflect specific tasks in specific development contexts. A bottom-up decision-making empowerment process is easier described than done in the reality of NGO management (Lewis 2001).

With the above in mind, Resource Dependency suggests NGO managers to tackle empowerment issues with a focus upon '2 Rs': *resources* and *relationships*. *Resource* and *relationship* management appears to be the key factor, especially when a NGO is seeking to commit itself to empowering the resource-poor and the less powerful. On the one hand, NGO might successfully reduce its donors' top-down control by diversifying the sources of resources (e.g. by creating NGO-owned enterprises, investing in the market or engaging in business-like, not-for-profit activities). In so doing, the inter-organizational dependency on a single or monopolistic source of operational funds is reduced. On the other hand, NGO might effectively empower people by cooperating and establishing strategic alliances with other organizations, and simultaneously involving the resource-poor at all decision-making levels. By doing so, more useful information could be gained and circulated to all. Capacities and mutual understanding on every side could be further strengthened. Also, a win-win rather than a zero-sum situation is more likely to be created. With vertical and horizontal alliances at community, national and global levels NGOs can create some space for their own organizational autonomy, able to scale up their practices and interests while at the same time being more open to criticism (Hudock 1995; Lewis 2001; Mckinley and Mone 2003).

In sum, NGOs, by means of resource mobilization and relationship building, could ideally achieve more positive impacts with an appropriate level of effort and cost, and cope with development tasks within the resources available. They could thus look outward rather than inward, and have a real impact on development.

Chapter 4 Vocational Education in Developing Countries

4.1 Introduction

Vocational education has its historical and ideological roots in the West. The idea of vocational education can be traced back to western educators and theorists such as Plato, Aristotle, Heidegger, Dewey, Ryle, Oakeshott, Arendt, Polanyi and Kerschensteiner (Dewey 1916; Ryle 1949; Arendt 1958; Polanyi 1958; Oakeshott 1962; Lum 2004; Lewis 2005; Winch 2006). They adopt the common position of backing the pedagogic integration and incorporation of practical knowledge and academic subjects, linking vocational training and general education. Nevertheless, the ideal pedagogy of vocational education rooted in the above theoretical position has been constantly challenged in both industrial and developing countries. Integrating pedagogy is considered as rhetoric and ‘unseasonable’ in contemporary societies, especially when it confronts the political drive to improve the economic relevance of vocational education. This is not to forget that it is questionable whether pedagogy rooted in the West is context-appropriate to non-western societies, and whether it could be well managed in developing countries.

Vocational education could be regarded as vocational training that is liberally conceived. It is about job-oriented education whose design is an attempt to enable students to understand the nature and values of work, and also to be capable of dealing with the content and context of work (Dearden 1984). It is however not my intention here to discuss the similarities and differences among the various relevant

terminologies '*TVET (i.e. technological vocational education and training)*', '*vocational education*' '*vocational training*' '*work-oriented education*' and so on. The term '*vocational education*' rather than '*vocational training*' is preferred for use here, owing to my recognition of the former pedagogical ideas of the blurred boundary between education and training, between academic and practical subjects. Vocational education seeks to empower all aspects of individuals' lives, whether economic, socio-cultural or political. In short, it is for developing the whole person and accordingly, for recognizing a wider scope of what ought to be learnt (Lauglo, Akyeampong et al. 2002). By comparison, vocational training has narrower educational connotations of skills, knowledge and attitudes for specific employment (e.g. motorcycle repair, hairdressing) and is intended for economic purposes only.

To take a clearer view of vocational education in developing countries, this chapter therefore is structured firstly to discuss the dominant ideas and ideologies of vocational education (VE) in the developing world. Next, the constraints and contradictions of current educational planning and systems in developing countries and Cambodia are examined. Finally, following the discussion and examination, the renewal of pedagogic integration of vocational education will be proposed and contribute to my conceptual framework in the next chapter for providing vocational education for the empowerment and employment of vulnerable young people.

4.2 Historical and Ideological Roots

4.2.1 Western Influence

a. From the past ‘colonial age’ to the present ‘post-Cold War era’

It might be fair to say that from the beginning of the colonial years to the present post-Cold War era, western thoughts, knowledge and rapid technological changes in favor of modernization, industrialization, economic growth and linear progressive development, have continuously challenged traditional livelihoods in many developing countries. Located on the periphery of value chains in the global economy, many developing countries are now even more vulnerable when seeking to cope with issues such as unemployment, demographic growth and urbanization (World Bank 2007a). The work environment, for example, becomes more unpredictable where the skilling and re-skilling of the workforce are needed but not affordable.

The influence of colonial regimes in the past, and that of international aid policies in the aftermath of the Cold War are indifferent in the way that both carry out a preferred concept from western experience – i.e. that one size fits in all (Schumacher 1993; Scott 1998). On the one hand, a belief of existence of ‘the best and universal mode’ might be insensible to, and even disregard local contexts and cultural specificities in developing nations. On the other, such beliefs are usually tested experimentally and deployed on a big scale, but difficult to reverse if they fail. The traditional education patterns and purposes in non-western societies have been found hard to keep intact and away from western influence. On the surface, such influences have encroached upon non-western educational systems by importing and embedding modern forms of school structure, curricula, textbooks, and assessment methods. But what permeates

deeper into and impinges more upon every walk of life in developing nations is the ignorance of educational meanings and ideas in other traditions, and the resulting disjunction between people and their cultural roots, without which no life is supposed to be lived, according to Verhelst (1987). This is especially true in Buddhist countries like Cambodia. Under French colonial control (1884-1953), the Cambodian education system was no longer a means of materially and spiritually preparing its citizens for life. Instead, what French foreign policies required from Cambodia's education system was the creation of 'proper' local ruling elites so as to perpetuate the colonial power as well as interests, and to achieve the necessary qualifications to earn a living in European-like societies (Dy and Ninomiya 2003; Dy 2004).

Education is by no means a neutral arena, and the same is true of scientific and technological knowledge in vocational education. The decisions about what to learn and how to learn are not independent of political drive and economic imperatives. The ways to bear knowledge (e.g. language and symbolic meanings used in textbooks) and to disseminate knowledge (e.g. educational structures and systems) are indeed hardly free from cultural dependency. This dependency has a direct impact on the planning and implementation of vocational education in non-western countries, although indigenous approaches rather than 'universal' approaches rooted in western experience have been shown to be more effective in the provision of TVET in some Asian countries (McGrath, King et al. 1995). Countries such as Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan have developed their own context-friendly provision of TVET in support of their industrial progress and technical production (Watson 1994). By contrast, indigenous approaches of TVET in Ghana have attracted little investment and thus had little chance to flourish (King and Martin 2002). International aid policies, whether educational or economic, are overtly donor-driven rather than

supply-shaped, and could be represented by the voices of the following three leading multilateral agencies: the World Bank, UNESCO/IIEP and ILO (Watson 1994).

b. The ebb and flow of international aid in vocational education

As Watson (1994) points out, the planning and management of vocational education in developing countries have been shaped by the World Bank, UNESCO/IIEP and ILO in particular, and their aid policies in education. Far from the original idea of empowering and promoting the economic, social and personal development of individuals, vocational education has been negatively perceived as a second-class programme or/and a passive remedial course in response to the unemployment, demographic growth and urbanization that have emerged rapidly since the 60s. In other words, vocational education was once upon a time demanded by international aid agencies because it looked like a quick solution to the problems just addressed (Okwuanaso 1985; Oketch 2007). The Bank started its investment in vocational education in 1963 when its first educational loan was given to promote TVET systems in developing countries. Since then, up to 40% (about USD 600 million annually) of the international official aid for education in developing countries has been allocated to vocational education and training, of which the World Bank as the main donor has provided 45% on average (UNESCO 2005; Watson 1994). That notwithstanding, in the 1990s the Bank led a radical shift in funding policies away from vocational education to general education. The move away from vocational education was fueled by the analysis of Arvil Van Adams (in a paper for the World Bank), entitled '*People took us – the policy – too much at face value*' in 1991. Due to this policy change, vocational education is now left with only 8-9% annually, unlike the prosperous past when it enjoyed 40% of total educational funding (UNESCO 2005).

Whether coincidence or not, in the early 1990s general education (especially primary education) was stressed instead, and gained in importance and popularity after the World Conferences on Education for All (EFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand (1990) and Dakar, Senegal (2000). Since then, Universal Primary Education (UPE) has been enshrined as one of the six UN Millennium Goals for 2015. Not surprisingly, donors' resources and interest in vocational education in the era of EFA and UPE have lagged far behind those in general education. EFA, seen as a good intention, was promised and re-promised by 155 governments at Jomtien and 185 at Dakar. Whether 'education' under the policy agenda of EFA and UPE is more about basic learning needs or universal primary schooling (Singh 2002; Torres 2002), vocational education is falling into the second-class and remedial status, with greatly diminished resources.

4.2.2 Training Modalities

Apart from the above, recently there has been a growing discussion of vocational education on the part of international donors (UNESCO 2005) especially as more and more young people are graduating from primary schools but have no access to either secondary school or work. General education has greatly raised people's expectations and interest in white-collar work and waged employment which, in Cambodia and many developing countries, runs counter to the demand in their labour markets.

Western thinking, especially from multi-/bi- lateral agencies, continues to shape educational planning and thinking in those countries. Their features and frameworks for designing, managing and evaluating vocational education for poor people in the developing world may be seen in the following typical published studies:

Published by multi-lateral agencies:

In comparison with other multi-lateral aid agencies, both **ILO** and **UNESCO** are the most influential in shaping national TVET and skills policies in the Asian and Pacific region (UNESCO Bangkok 2005).

ILO has specially played a good leading role in recognising and defining the importance of the informal sector in poverty reduction and employment creation (Grierson and McKenzie, 1996:5). As described earlier, vocational education for self-employment in the informal sector has been studied in ILO, such as: Corvalan (1984) *Vocational Training for Disadvantaged Youth in Developing Countries*; Fluitman, F., ed. (1989) *Training for Work in the Informal Sector*; and Grierson, J. P. and I. McKenzie, eds. (1996) *Training for Self-Employment: through Vocational Training Institutions*. The term ‘informal sector’ was first used in the 1972 Kenya Report by ILO. The term was an attempt to draw the attention of international donors to the non-structured economic sector which emerges in urban areas as a result of the inability of the modern sector (waged employment) to absorb new labour. By drawing upon the simple concept of a production process (i.e. from selecting raw materials to processing and creating products), the frameworks of VE provision in the above ILO publications focus on the design and analysis of not only how to select and educate VE students in the selection and education stages, but also how VE programmes could help students embark on self-employment in the informal sector, i.e. the enterprise stage. As illustrated in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: Three principal stages in the training for self-employment process

Selection stage (selecting raw materials)	Training stage (processing)	Enterprise stage (creating products)
- target group designation - student selection criteria - student selection	- course identification and design - training venue choice - training technique choice - training delivery	- start-up support - follow-up support

Source adapted from: Grierson and McKenzie (1996: 26), Grierson (1997:15)

On the other hand, many concepts of educational planning and policy in developing countries have been inspired by **UNESCO/IIEP**, although the organisation emphasises literacy and school equivalency programmes rather than job-oriented subjects in formal and non-formal education (Shaeffer 1997). UNESCO/IIEP produced few occasional papers entitled *Education and Employment* (Caillods 1989), and *Non-Formal Vocational Training Programmes for Disadvantaged Youth and Their Insertion into the World of Work: towards a Framework for Analysis and Evaluation* (Leonardos 1999). The former study indicates the importance of VE planning and evaluation, with special respect to the increasing population of the unemployed and under-employed in developing countries. In more detail, three intersectional levels are proposed together for planning, designing and analysing VE programmes in the framework of Leonardos (1999:32-37): macro (context), intermediate (organisation) and micro (training modality) levels; and these three are briefly described as below:

Macro Level (i.e. Preconditions)

- Favourable Environment: meaning that the net impact of political, economic, social, cultural and other external factor is positive.

Intermediate Level (i.e. Organising Principles and Measures)

- a. Clear Purpose: meaning that interventions address specific needs and problems of a target group
- b. Skills as Market Demands
- c. Whole-Person Approach: meeting a long-term perspective of development
- d. Socio-Cultural Sensitivity
- e. Participation: substantial participation (and negotiation) of the intended beneficiaries at all stages of the effort
- f. Sustainability: attention given to complementary inputs and possible integration with other interventions; assessing local resources to build upon them

Micro Level (i.e. Training Features)

- a. Flexible Design: allowing permanent adaptation of training contents and methods of delivery to labour market needs and trainees' needs and interest.
- b. Instructional Aspects: staff, programme and pedagogy
 - Staff: committed and competent
 - Instructor: ability to conduct a special type of course adapted to the trainees' background and employment prospects
 - Relevant Curriculum and Teaching Methods: broken down into smaller and self-contained units, highly participative, and combining teaching with production activities
 - Business Notions: parallel inclusion of business notion
 - Creation of Learning Environment: in the form of production units typical of the informal sector of the economy
- c. Evaluation component
 - Self-Evaluation and Group Evaluation: to judge trainees personal,

professional and social developments

- In-built Programme Evaluation
- Impact Evaluations: assessment of early results and follow-up studies

d. Extension

- Follow-up Service: such as post-training extension services to leavers and attached (workshops) or contracted apprenticeships with outside firms
- Replicability and Scope: programmes replicability and scope for economies of scale

Published by bi-lateral agencies:

As for the role of VE programmes, many bi-lateral agencies have been more concerned with the relationships of technical training with productivity and employment, rather than with social and political empowerment. Such concerns could be seen in the German Foundation for International Development (DSE/ZGB) *Vocational Training Strategies to Promote Employment and Self-Help in the Third World* (Wallenborn 1989); the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) *Vocational Education in Developing Countries: A Review of Studies and Project Experience* (Hultin 1987); the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) *Where There is No Job: Vocational Training for Self-Employment in Development Countries* (Grierson 1997); the UK Department for International Development (DFID) *Education and Training for the Informal Sector* (McGrath, King, et al 1995); and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) *Evaluation Report: Danish Assistance to Vocational Education and Training* (2002).

In addition, much advice for NGOs and training institutes seeking to provide vocational education has been given by academic researchers in training manuals and

resource books, like Harper's *Empowerment through Enterprise: a Training Manual for Non-Government Organisations* (1996); and Rao, Wright and Mukherjee, editors of *Designing Entrepreneurial Skills Development Programmes: Resource Book for Technical and Vocational Institutions* (1990). In general, three types of organisations are found to provide vocational education in the developing world: the first is the governmental sector; the next is NGOs that usually invest in project-based skills training, often in combination with business planning and credit assistance; the last one is from the business sector with various forms of enterprise-based training and traditional apprenticeships. Watson (1994) concludes that by flexibly and considerately making use of training modalities, vulnerable people in different developing countries may benefit from the advantages of vocational education, including:

- transmitting the values and attitudes necessary to perform certain skills in the modern sector of the economy;
- providing specific skills for employment in a wide range of job categories;
- helping alleviate mass unemployment and the resulting public disaffection;
- alleviating obsolete work practices and improving job performance by upgrading or reorienting existing work skills;
- promoting a work ethic and sensitizing learners to the importance of practical work and practical skills application;
- helping prevent mass movement of school leavers from rural to urban areas;
- enabling young persons to acquire skills for self employment;
- preparing citizens for technical and technological change; and
- providing a necessary antidote to over-academic education.

Based on the brief understanding of the origins and development of VE conceptions and politics, the real challenges and constraints of VE implementation will be considered more extensively at both supra-national (4.3.1) and national (4.3.2) levels in the next section. The dominant institutions listed above have published key ideas concerning VE planning and its potential benefits. These, combined with the unsolved pedagogic issues raised next, will together identify those desirable VE goals that have not yet been achieved in Cambodia and hence inform the content of the research sub-questions in Section 5.3. Equally, the method of constructing those sub-questions will be based on the existing ILO and UNESCO frameworks for VE design and assessment. As reviewed earlier, UNESCO offers a vertical analytic lens to examine the intersection among the three levels of VE training modalities (micro), organisation (intermediate) and national context (macro). By contrast, ILO suggests a horizontal investigation into the consistency among the three stages revolving mainly around VE students: from students' selection to their education and training, and finally to their linkage with employment.

4.3 Challenges and Constraints of Vocational Education

4.3.1 Cost and Relevance

Despite the potential advantages listed earlier, the current provision of vocational education has failed to address the issues of managerial cost and pedagogic relevance. To start with the managerial cost issue, the fact is that vocational education is at least three times as expensive as general education (Okwuanaso 1985; Watson 1994; UNESCO 2005). The higher cost partially explains the reluctance of donors to invest in vocational education nowadays. Also, in comparison to micro-credit or micro-finance programmes, VE provision involves more heterogeneous, complex factors and thus is also more expensive (Grierson 1997; Liedholm and Mead 1999). It generally includes the cost of updating teachers' knowledge through in-service training, the upgrading of training equipment following rapid technological changes, and of linking VE courses with employment opportunities. The cost will be wasted if the pedagogy is irrelevant and meaningless. Turning to pedagogic relevance, this may be divided into two parts for discussion: one is relevant to employment, and the other is relevant to empowerment.

a. Employment relevance:

The fact is that major VE programmes provide learning opportunities but can not guarantee employment. In this regard, there is little difference between vocational education and general education. The former is especially hard to see as effective if it neither helps insert learners into the world of work nor meets learners' career expectations (Leonardos 1999). Employment, rather than the distribution of skills and

knowledge, is more a matter of the distribution of opportunities and resources to overcome various socio-economic barriers to employment in both formal and informal sectors. The informal sector particularly requires learners' to use their personal and social relationships in connection with existing business networks that include competitors, customers, suppliers, creditors and support agencies (Thurow 1995; Dichter 1997; Bernard 2002). Owing to this, the task of an effective, relevant job-oriented education lies not just in the impartation of employable skills and knowledge, but also in the development of students' motivation along with their personal, social networks that they will require to gain easier access to the market.

However, neither knowledge nor market demands can be accurately predicted. As Dearden (1984) points out, scientific discoveries are hard to predict, and we cannot predict the course of history; while part of that history includes the employment opportunities that require people to be equipped and educated again and again. The content and context of VE provision can not possibly remain unchanged for long; they are usually valid for a short period only. Reflecting upon that history, the failing link between vocational education and employment in developing countries evokes a more relevant pedagogy, following the observation and analyses of VE failure made by Foster (1965), Okwuanaso (1985), Watson (1994) and King (2002). Their concluding observations are listed below:

- It has proved difficult to prepare students for unpredictable labour markets, as the latter are changing so fast.
- Inadequate databases have made accurate forecasting impossible.
- The need for re-skilling is often neglected in current VE programmes.
- Governments/donors rather than people usually make the decisions.
- Teachers are either inadequately trained or actually untrained.

- Donors' supply-driven programmes rather than local people's demand-driven ones are introduced. As a result, foreign models of education are imported; highly specialized training institutes are set up, fundamentally focusing on waged employment, but which do not immediately respond to the demands of the labour market in the developing world.
- People negatively perceive vocational education as second best, and inferior to the academic route. The existing social status and reward system further encourage the 'white-collar myth' and general (academic) education (Foster 1965). On the one hand, there appears a wide gap between people's interests (mainly white-collar jobs) and the actual demands of the labour market. On the other, the narrow perception of 'success' in careers (with the encouragement of social status and material rewards) has adversely affected the design and provision of vocational education.
- Accordingly, vocational education programmes are utilized passively by governments, as a panacea for all kinds of political and societal illness. For example, an overt increase in unemployed and under-employed young people, income inequality, social disparity, 'a time-bomb' (as described by UNESCO, 2004) as more graduates flow from primary schools but with limited access to secondary schools and places of work in the EFA and UPE discourse (World Bank 2006a).

Consequently it might be said that the perception of vocational education is both negative and passive. Although donors and governments, at least literally, try to connect vocational education with a vision of economic and social empowerment of

vulnerable people, its implementation and practice are nonetheless far from either employment objectives or empowerment goals.

b. Empowerment relevance:

In reality, there are many obstacles to successful empowerment in vocational education. At the individual level, enterprise education as well as engagement in small business has been criticized for its lack of sustainable increase in income generation for individual beneficiaries (Leach, Abdulla et al. 2000). Even in the case of successful VE programmes, there is the dilemma of deciding whether to offer learning opportunities to either the poor or those with potential, as resources are limited. Furthermore, although successful micro-entrepreneurs may ideally be the best local players to empower and to help many to move over into the growth category, selfish ambition rather than social responsibility, in reality, is pursued by the most successful individuals (Dichter 1997; Liedholm and Mead 1999; Richardson and Langdon 2000). It is especially true in Cambodia that along with the creation of new wealth comes the potential for increased individualism, destructive competition and selfishness (CRWRC 1995).

At the community level, there is another dilemma between conforming to and transforming the existing power relationships in localities. To successfully facilitate service beneficiaries' access to local business networks, in many cases, equates to obeying the rules of existing socio-cultural patterns and institutional structures (Davison and Martinsons 2002). It is suggested that the local dichotomous relationship between the powerful and powerless may be replaced by 'radical hybridity' once those who are more poor are empowered (Mohan 2001). However, the success of VE programmes in communities, and particularly the success of resources channeled to

communities, is usually achieved at the cost of reinforcing the interests of local elites and already existing asymmetrical power relationships (Montgomery 1995; Dichter 1997; Fernando 1997).

4.3.2 Practice and Rhetoric of Vocational Education in Cambodia

Cambodia's formal TVET system, briefly, comprises polytechnic schools, technical colleges and training centres. As mentioned in Chapter 2, these formal TVET institutes contribute little (0.7%) to the country's labour force. A National Training Board (NTB) set up in 1996 and composed of members and representatives from relevant ministries, the business sector, international aid agencies and NGOs, represents the sponsorship of the national TVET system. Since 2005 the responsibility for TVET has been moving from the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MoEYS) to the newly established Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training (MoLVT). The establishment of MoLVT, with the launch of the first draft of its key policy document entitled the '*Draft National Technical and Vocational Education and Training Development Plan*' (MoLVT 2006), may be considered as the first sign of RGC becoming aware of the widening mismatch between education and employment in the country. With special reference to the out-of-school youth, the draft plan proclaims the importance of vocational education and coordination among various education and training opportunities, and has been submitted to the National Training Board (NTB) for endorsement. It seeks to match education and training with young people's skills that are needed in the labour market. In order to better resource VE services, MoLVT encourages both business and voluntary sectors to become involved in building a wider range of public-private partnerships. Accordingly, MoLVT will

assure the quality of VE provision at a national-wide scale, and more importantly will set up national skills standards, competency assessment and a unified qualification system.

Nevertheless, the restructuring of Ministries appears to have had little impact so far. MoLVT is supposed to play an active, coordinating role among the different stakeholders, but unfortunately this continues not to be the case. The country's TVET system is still bound by complex bureaucratic imperatives, rather than flexibility and good coordination (MoEYS 2002; UNESCO Bangkok 2005). The institutional building and capacity of MoLVT are inadequate. The transitional problems related to the educational responsibility moving from MoEYS to MoLVT need be better clarified; and public-private partnerships in the sector of vocational learning and skills recognition need be better regulated and sustained (ADB 2006a). At present, different institutions and ministries (like the Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries) still run their own training programmes, issue their own certificates and rarely cooperate with one another; meanwhile the qualifications as well as performance of VE graduate students have not yet come to be appreciated by major employers (Iem 2007). National standards for the curricula and certification in vocational education have not been established either. As a result, VE graduates are not widely recognized as being more employable and skillful. Among all of these issues the greatest worry about the formal system of TVET addressed in the UNESCO paper (2004a) is its over-reliance on external donors' funding, so that the public TVET actually enjoys only a very limited operational autonomy. In addition, female students have a very high drop-out rate from Cambodia's VE programmes, while their enrolment rates look quite encouraging. Girls are more likely to withdraw from schooling because traditionally they are perceived to be more suited for domestic

duties (Bray and Bunly 2005). Thus, the pro-female policy is to a great degree obscured by the country's socio-cultural barriers.

According to the first and latest draft TVET development plan (MoLVT 2006), the shortfall between practice and rhetoric in VE implementation in Cambodia has been identified, and is expected to narrow in the near future. The shortfall includes the following issues:

- Demand Driven: TVET programmes should change to become demand-driven rather than supply-driven.
- Quality Assurance: quality assurance containing assessment methods, certificates and qualifications, ratio of trainers to trainees and skills competency standards of both trainers and trainees should be improved.
- Flexibility: programmes should be designed and planned in a more flexible way with regard to multiple entry and exit points, flexible venues and time of learning.
- Integration: from the pedagogic viewpoint, integration between vocational training with other education sectors is necessary.
- Coordination: accordingly, coordination between various educational sponsors and providers should be enhanced. Good coordination and communication between ministries, the business sector, experts, NGOs and international donor organizations is particularly urgent.
- Autonomy: for public TVET institutions, their reliance on donors' funding is at the cost of operational autonomy. Therefore, efforts should be made to seek more governmental financing.

- Equity and Access: the vulnerable population and rural areas should be further targeted, applying the principles of equity and access not just to enrolment rates but also completion rates.
- Target: vocational education needs to expand its targets for young people, girls and vulnerable adults.

The gap found here implies some priorities for intervention and worthwhile directions for any internal or external groups, public or private sector bodies to start or re-orient their intervention in vocational education in Cambodia. In order to meet those priorities, the nature and matter of VE pedagogy need be rethought and renewed. This will be discussed in the next section, 4.4, and hopefully be further realized, refined and tested by means of empirical evidence in the following chapter.

4.4 Renewal of Integrating Pedagogy in Vocational Education

Having understood the VE challenges and constraints in Cambodia and in the developing world as a whole, currently there is a growing interest in vocational education once again, in accordance with UNESCO (2005). Since the discussion of managerial costs and pedagogic relevance of vocational education has again been put on the round table of international donor agencies, it is timely to rethink the education and training that are critical to vulnerable people in both social and economic terms in the face of the ever more complex and changing world of work. As mentioned earlier, the passive function of vocational education as a remedial programme and its negative aspect as a second-class opportunity has failed. A call is made to renew the active and holistic view of vocational education, given the people's need for not only 'education to make a living' but also 'education for living' (Singh 2005).

4.4.1 Values of Work

A primary value of work lies in the opportunity it offers to make a profit in order to survive. However, work can be much more than that and can provide a valuable learning opportunity for personal development, potential fulfillment and moreover, for wider socio-political, cultural and moral engagement (Winch 2000; Winch 2006).

Vocational education is expected to prepare students practically for entry into the workplace, and to enable students to be ready to benefit from work values. On the one hand, students' technical skills and operational efficiency might be secured; and on the other, their breadth and depth of understanding, a degree of critical reflectiveness and corresponding autonomy of judgment might be properly practised through work and

beyond (Dearden 1984).

As introduced in 4.1, the development of pedagogic integration for vocational education has a long history. Pedagogic integration derives from its recognition of work values, and from its stress on ‘practicity’ and the lifelong process at the core of learning and human intelligence. Since the world of work is changing rapidly, workers need be skilled (and re-skilled) so as to adjust to changing working conditions, rather than remaining confined to a specific job or skill. As the unpredictability of the work environment and requirements are growing, it is both realistic and effective to merge the different trains of educational thinking again and to transcend the opposition between vocational training and adult learning (Singh 2005), between technical education and general (or academic) education (Grubb and Ryan 1999), between specific skills and generic skills (such as decision-making, problem-solving, planning and communication) (Dearden 1984). In short, to integrate other pedagogic elements into vocational education in order to make it relevant to work.

4.4.2 Practivity and Lifelong Process

Regarding ‘practicity’, a relevant pedagogy will include an appropriate curriculum designed in the practical sense, teaching-learning methods that are context-friendly to specific social and economic situations, and learning activities that are bound to flexible times and settings. The relevant pedagogy is purposeful in the promotion of practical knowledge and competence in living and being, to equip students effectively with not only employability but also critical citizenship, linking them up with employment and empowerment (Lakes 1994). Such competence, it is suggested should include at least three foundation skills as follows (Lewis 2005):

- a. basic skills (writing, reading, numeracy, oral language and communication)
- b. thinking skills (decision-making, problem-solving, reasoning, critical thinking)
- c. personal skills (honesty, self-esteem, responsibility, sociability, self-management).

Although we might be able to divide the purpose of vocational education into two, i.e. employment (more tangible, instrumental value) and empowerment (intangible, expressive quality), both are two sides of the same coin that is a lifelong lesson and thus learnt in a lifelong process. People can learn and become further empowered by experiencing the values of work, and empowerment also helps people continually adapt themselves to a changing world of work. Empowerment and employment are mutually reinforced over a lifetime. The intent of learning both in order to make a living and for daily life may be seen in the Delors Commission's Report to UNESCO, entitled *Learning: The Treasure Within* (1996). It indicates four fundamental purposes of learning: learning to know, learning to be, learning to do and learning to live together. The concept is reconfirmed, with a greater focus upon the developing countries in the recent World Bank publication *Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy: Challenges for Developing Countries* (2003).

4.4.3 Double Purposes of VE Services: Employment and Empowerment

The link between the learning activities of a country and its socio-economic development is complex. Vocational education (and education in general) is a necessary but definitely not comprehensive condition for the latter. Thus the discussion over the renewal of vocational education is centred around the needs and development of vulnerable individuals, rather than following an exaggerated

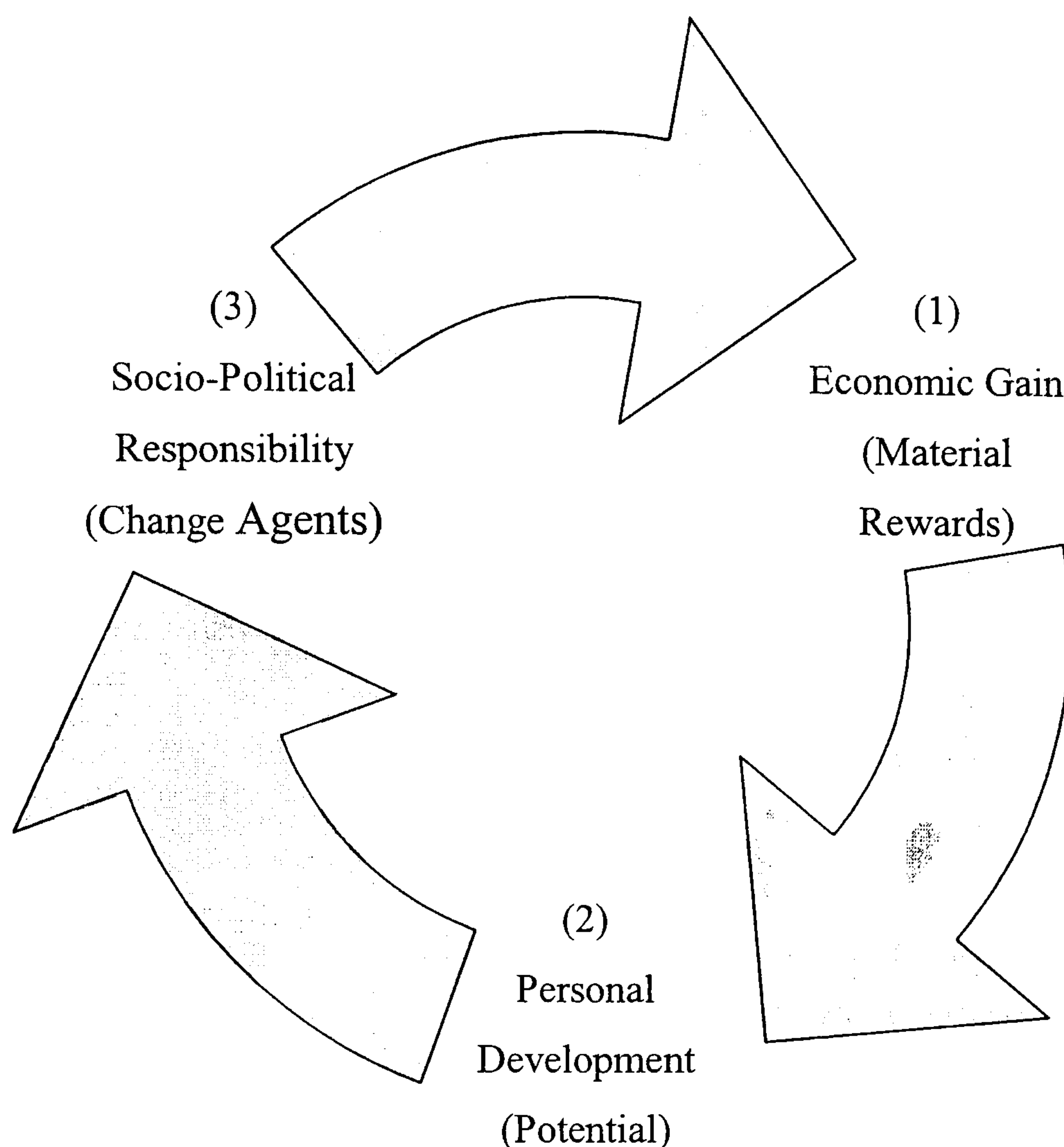
perception of vocational education as a panacea to soothe all kinds of societal and political worries in developing countries. Vocational education would be no more than a disguise for comfort (as commonly seen in political calls) if it were claimed to help increase job creation and automatically link students with employment opportunities. Rather, what the renewal of vocational education here suggests is to supply knowledge and skills tailor-made to respond to the demands of the labour market and the interests of students, and in turn to reinforce the personal development, moral engagement and socio-political responsibility of individuals. As seen in Figure 4.1, it illustrates how the integrating pedagogy of VE services expresses the double purposes (i.e. employment and empowerment) of serving vulnerable people. The purposes are revealed, for VE services have the potential to contribute to the following aspects of individuals' needs and interests:

(1) Economic gain: work for material reward and earning a profit. Pedagogy is in practice fine-tuned to the needs and demands of the labour market, i.e. 'human resource development', and

(2) Personal development: pedagogy allows students to fulfill their individual talents as well as potential, and to meet their own interests i.e. 'human capital development', and

(3) Socio-political responsibility: pedagogy prepares students for altruistic disposition, social responsibility, social change making and working in a collective manner for the public good i.e. eventually, enhancement of the 'social capital'.

Figure 4.1: Integrating pedagogy of vocational education serves individuals' employment and empowerment



As shown in Figure 4.1, vocational education potentially serves as a circular device to economically and socially empower vulnerable young people in developing countries. The figure also indicates that (1) and (2) will eventually contribute to (3), and vice versa. It conveys that the more knowledge and educational opportunities a person receives, the more responsibility he/she is obliged to take. Development of human resource and human capital is a very costly activity; let alone that a person's health and wealth creation is not a one-man effort. That is why (3) is critical to the other two aspects, as 'the belief that (knowledge) will benefit mankind conveys a strong sense of social responsibility' (Smith 1999). The double goals of vocational education (i.e. employment and empowerment) are eventually to enable vulnerable and poor people to question and challenge the structural reasons for their social and economic disparity.

to develop their personal confidence, self-esteem and identity, to shape decisions affecting their lives and to better defend and promote their livelihoods through learning and action (Fowler and Pratt 1997; Oakley, Pratt et al. 1998; Ballantyne 2002; Cornwall 2004; Waddington and Mohan 2004). In doing so, the pedagogy of vocational education through the social intermediation of providing organizations such as NGOs may be gauged and justified as relevant and effective, if employment and empowerment of students are achieved.

As many governmental and non-governmental organizations' intervention in vocational education is rather demand-driven, they usually justify their policies and define human needs by what they are capable of doing and the ways in which they actually intervene, rather than by their service users' perspective. No matter how much capacity, how many managerial ideas and sometimes patronizing attitudes they might bring into the VE services, the extent of their effectiveness is eventually determined by evaluating students' performance (Lum 2004; Creemers and Kyriakides 2008). Therefore good pedagogy in vocational education should make itself count for students, and this in turn will further inform the design of my research strategies and methods as seen in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This doctoral research is an attempt to explore an effective providing mechanism for NGO intervention in vocational education for the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people in urban Cambodia. The structure of this chapter begins with the conceptual framework (in 5.2), which is grounded in the literature review (Chapters 2-4) and is intended to outline the scope and scale of this piece of doctoral work, and then to indicate those unknown areas inside the conceptual framework that need to be answered by means of empirical evidence. Being preceded by a clear mapping of the conceptual framework, research questions could be raised accordingly (in 5.3) and research strategies as well as methods designed (in 5.4)

In consideration of the economic, educational and socio-cultural vulnerability of young people, the managerial and pedagogic constituents of effectiveness at the NGO organisational level and its vocational education service level are discussed by means of a mainly qualitative, multiple-case study. 9 NGOs located in 4 cities have been selected to investigate in two periods of fieldwork (i.e. explorative and follow-up periods), where direct observation, participatory observation, semi-structured interview, structured interview and documentary collection will be separately applied. Following the data collection, an analytic process involving initial and final stages will be developed. For the latter, a specific qualitative analytic technique (namely,

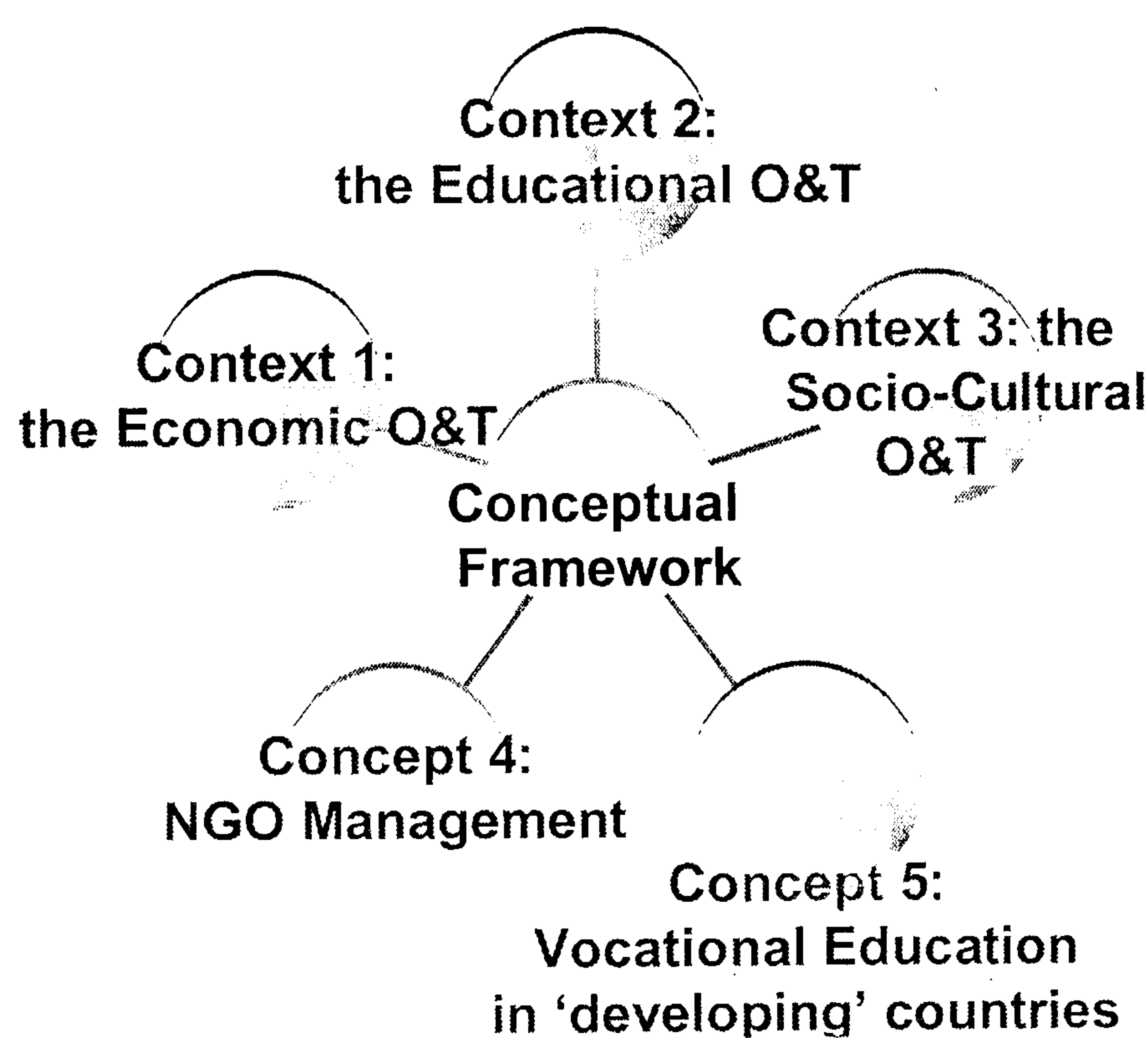
*Dynamic Concept Analysis*²) is adopted. The empirical model of an effective NGO VE intervention (which is composed of managerial and pedagogic constituents) can be built up accordingly, and gain further theoretical verification by comparing it with what is seen as constituting effectiveness in the follow-up survey on VE graduates' learning outcomes.

² Kontiainen, S., Ed. (2002a). Dynamic Concept Analysis: Integrating Information in Conceptual Models. Helsinki, University of Helsinki, Department of Education.
The software is downloadable from <http://www.helsinki.fi/ktl/julkaisut/dca/>.

5.2 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework, grounded in a systematic and critical literature review, is intended to demonstrate and justify explicitly the scope and scale of my doctoral study. Five areas of literature have been reviewed, and now serve to inform the design of the conceptual framework. Figure 5.1 simply helps to illustrate relevant and underpinning previous studies:

Figure 5.1: Five areas of literature underpinning the conceptual framework



As seen in Figure 5.1, ‘O&T’ refers to urban opportunities and threats in Cambodia. Thus three areas of literature, concerned with the economic, educational and socio-cultural opportunities and threats in Cambodia, help shed light on the context in which vulnerable young people find themselves. Their urban opportunities and threats evidently emerge at the macro (national) level, as summarized in Table 5.1 below:

Table 5.1: Summary of macro contexts where Cambodian vulnerable youth are situated

	Education	Economic	Socio-Cultural
Opportunities	Widening access to Universal Primary Education (UPE)	Transition to market and Finance Openness	More trust, confidence and openness to new ideas and cultures (compared with older adults)
	Increment in literacy rate	GDP average growth: 11.4% (since 2004)	
		Increasing GDP share of Garment and Tourism	
Threats	Asymmetric ratio of secondary schools to primary ones is 5274:503 (1999/2000)	Poverty rate: fluctuates between 35.9 and 40% (1993 to 1999), the highest in Southeast Asia	Social and administrative barriers to employment (such as bribery and corruption, inefficient law enforcement, lack of business relationships and finance)
	Weak formal system of TVET: for only 0.7% of the labour force	Worsening income inequality: 0.35 to 0.42 (Gini index; 1993 to 2004)	Forgotten group (unlike the sound policies on children in Cambodia)
	High opportunity cost (informal tuition and youthful economic compulsion etc)	Rapid growth of labour force: 59.2% in 1995, 65.2% in 2000 and 71.7% in 2001	Culturally perceived as ‘immature’ adults
	Increase of educated unemployed and under-employed		Young demographic structure; Post-conflict baby boom

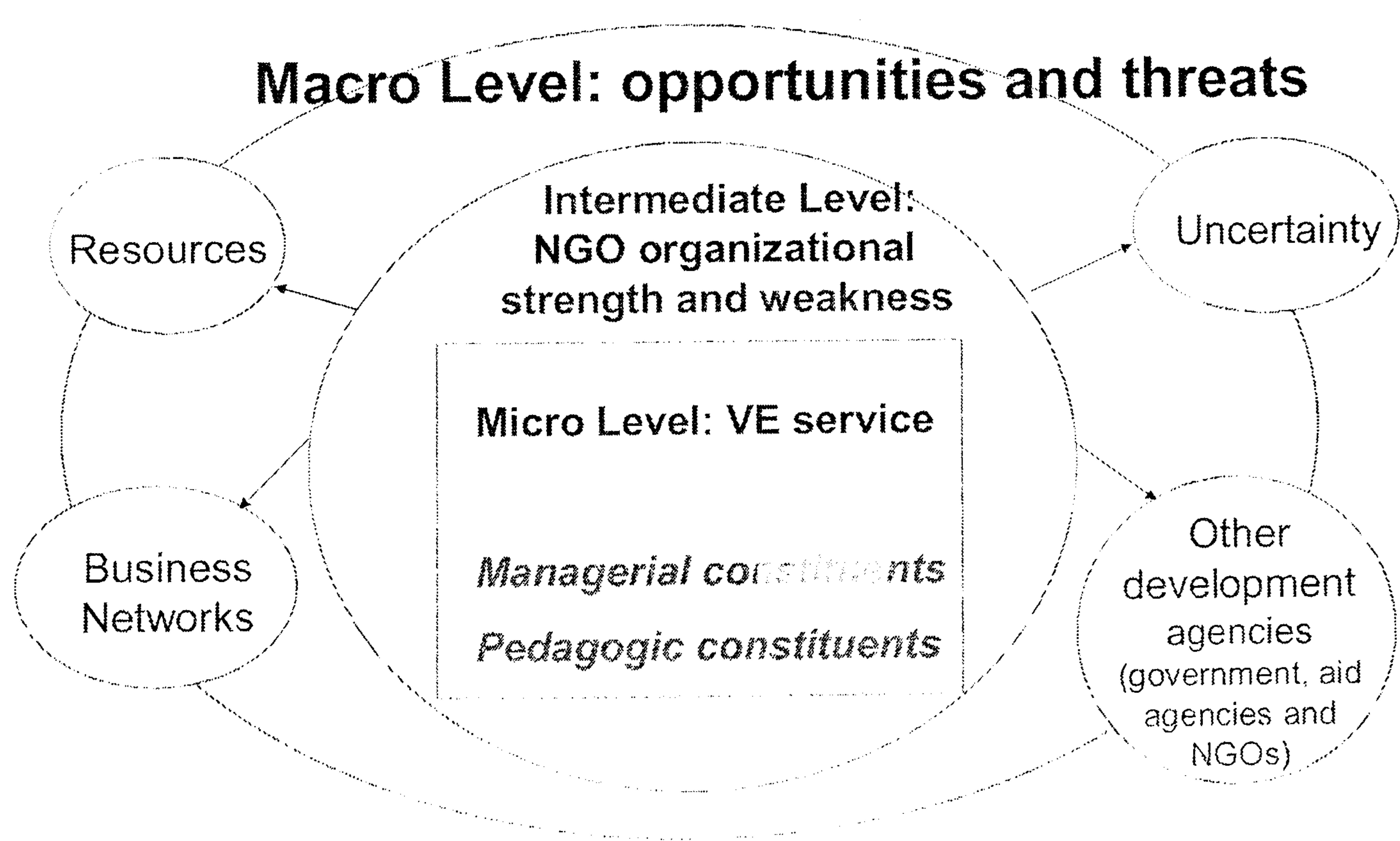
(Sources: World Bank, 2007b; Mahmood 2005; ADB, 2004; MoEYS, 2001; MoP, 2000)

The fourth is the literature concerning NGOs and their management. NGOs' practices are due for some systematic and comprehensive research in Cambodia. However, using the analyses and accounts of NGOs' nature, roles and adoptive management, their distinctive organizational strengths and weaknesses are identified as well as differentiated from those of other development agencies such as recipient governments and multi-/bi-lateral agencies. Contemporary Organization Theory in relation to NGO management especially highlights the important relations of an NGO to its surrounding environment, and the influence of the changing environment upon NGOs' managerial adaptation, especially the need of managers to guide organizational adaptation to the change of stakeholders' interests, and to cope with resource dependency of a NGO in a contingent and uncertain environment where the organisation is situated (Lewis 2001; Edwards and Fowler 2002; Tsoukas and Knudsen 2003). In short, Organization Theory helps conceptualize the resource and relationship management, and the intermediate role of an NGO among its beneficiaries, different interest groups and other development actors. Given its significant ability to provide explanations, the main structure of the conceptual framework here is thus mapped in accord with the propositions of Organization Theory in order to effectively analyze NGOs' organizational behaviour in response to the macro context (as listed in Table 5.1).

Fifth, the literature review of vocational education (VE) in developing countries is intended to discuss the historical and ideological roots of such education (Grierson and McKenzie 1996; Grierson 1997; Leonardos 1999; Leach, Abdulla et al. 2000). It is also to analyse the way in which multi-/bi-lateral agencies' ideas of vocational

education have managerial and pedagogic implications in the developing world, and to ascertain why vocational education came to be regarded as second-class programmes and remedial courses that deserved less official aid after the early 1980s. The educational policies and decisions made by international aid agencies (especially UNESCO and ILO) have had an obvious impact on relevant TVET policies and practices of the government and NGOs in Cambodia (UNESCO 2004a; UNESCO Bangkok 2005). Having been informed by a recent international call for the renewal of integrated pedagogy in vocational education (VE) I have come to a clearer understanding of what an effective VE service is about, but without reference to or scrutiny of exactly how NGOs practise VE services in Cambodia. Questions about the unknown managerial/pedagogic components of NGOs in response to the specific circumstances in Cambodia are thus raised, as seen in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Conceptual framework of NGOs’ intervention in vocational education



A conceptual framework grounded in the literature review, on the one hand, will display and provide reasons for the scope and scale of this piece of doctoral research, and on the other is structured to expose the gaps inside the conceptual framework that need to be filled by virtue of empirical evidence. The latter, precisely, is to help shape the research questions in 5.3, i.e. to explore the managerial and pedagogic constituents by which NGOs effectively help vulnerable young people to take advantage of their opportunities and to overcome the disadvantages that they suffer in urban Cambodia.

5.3 Research Questions

Core Question: What constitutes effectiveness (in managerial and pedagogic terms) in NGOs' intervention in vocational education (VE) for the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people in urban Cambodia?

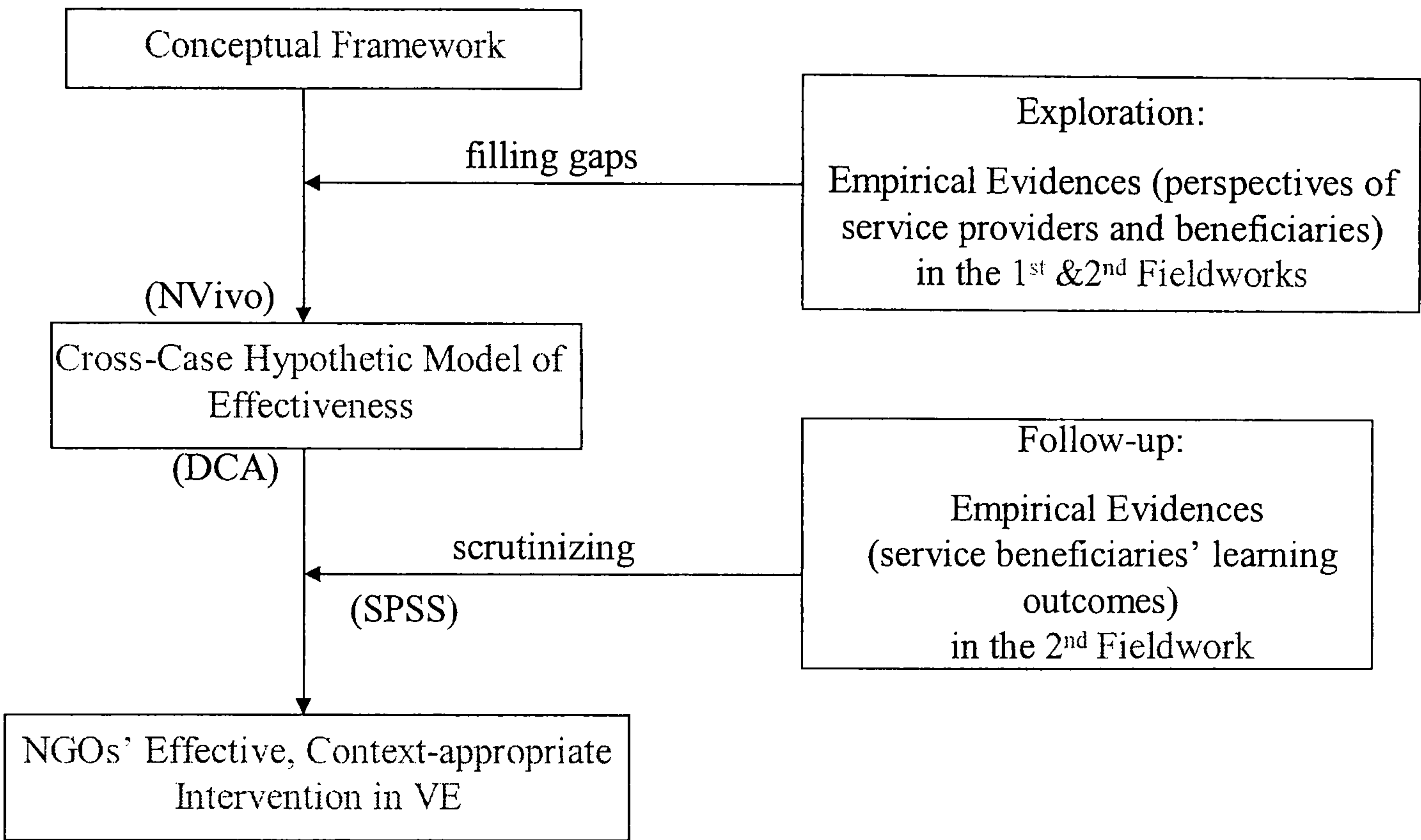
Accordingly, six **sub-questions** have been developed:

- Q1: What are the traditional aspects (including organizational culture, development visions and objectives) of NGOs' intervention in VE for vulnerable young people in Cambodia?
- Q2: What constitutes effective management of an NGO VE service, insofar as (1) the selection stage, (2) education and training stage and (3) employment stage are involved?
- Q3: For mobilizing resources and helping young people to overcome the barriers to employment, how does a focal organization (such as an NGO) manage its institutional relationships and strategic alliances with other supportive agencies?
- Q4: What constitutes relevant pedagogy (e.g. curriculum development, knowledge and skills portfolio, learning and teaching methods) of VE for the employment and empowerment of young people in Cambodia?
- Q5: What is meant by empowerment, from both NGOs providers' and beneficiaries' perspectives?
- Q6: How can NGOs empower vulnerable young people and simultaneously avoid the process being undermined by the alien culture of international NGOs and/or by local elites?

5.4 Research Strategy, Design and Methods

To fulfill the conceptual framework and answer the research questions, a research strategy is charted below:

Figure 5.3: Research strategy



A multiple-case study (Yin 2003) is designed for this qualitative research, so as to examine two key units (i.e. management and pedagogy of NGOs' intervention in vocational education) in a cross-case manner. This research strategy is also articulated as a collective case study (Stake 2000). By Stake's definition, the cases in a collective-case study are regarded as an instrument to enable me to have both generic understanding and in-depth insight into the abstract themes of effective mechanisms for NGO intervention in urban Cambodia. Thus while pursuing the development of my intended model, 9 NGOs providing vocational education in 4 Cambodian cities were selected for case study. With instrumental rather than intrinsic interest in each case, I shall pay more attention to comparing and contrasting the key managerial and

pedagogic features across the different NGOs rather than providing a comprehensive portrait of them all.

5.4.1 Case Selection and Generalisability

This qualitative multiple-case study is premised on purposive sampling (Stake, 2000), or what has been called non-probability sampling (Laws, Harper et al. 2003), given that the rationale for the selection of cases is to achieve replication logic rather than statistical sampling logic (Yin, 2003). By virtue of replication logic in qualitative inquiry, a multiple-case study, in comparison with a single case study (Yin, 2003) or intrinsic case study (Stake, 2000) may lead to better analytic generalization and thus better theorizing. In other words, to select the cases which are representative of the complex characteristics of NGOs in Cambodia is to give not only a sensible flavour of generalisability, but also a higher degree of certainty in theorizing. Based upon my prior experience as an NGO worker in VE projects in Cambodia (during two periods of work, 2000-2001 and 2003-2004), a case selection matrix (Table 5.2) has thus been formulated in order to help capture the representativeness of the dynamics of these NGOs, whose target groups include vulnerable youths aged 14-30 and whose VE service is a response to labour market needs (Table 5.3), especially in two growing sectors (i.e. garments and tourism) in Cambodia. As seen in Table 5.2, six variables are employed to form the selection criteria: (1) registration, (2) size, (3) location, (4) training mode, (5) knowledge and skills portfolio and (6) linkage to employment.

Table 5.2: Case selection matrix

Names of NGOs Selection Criteria	NGO ₁	NGO ₂	NGO ₄	NGO ₃	NGO ₅	NGO ₆	NGO ₇	NGO ₈	NGO ₉
	under the same religious order								
Registered as:	International NGOs			Local NGO	International	Local	Local	International	Local
Size (approx. student number in total, per year)	129	70	68	348	29	15	110	400	60
Location (urban areas)	Phnom Penh	Poipet	Battambang	Phnom Penh	Siem Reap	Poipet	Phnom Penh	Battambang	Poipet
Training Mode	In-class and on-the-job	In-class and on-the-job	In-class	In-class and on-the-job; apprenticeship	Apprenticeship	Apprenticeship	In-class and on-the-job	In-class	In-class and on-the-job
Knowledge and Skills Portfolio	Technical and moral	Technical and moral	Technical and moral	Technical and cultural	Technical	Technical and cultural	Technical	Technical	Technical
Linkage to Employment	Wage employment	No	Wage employment	Wage employment & self-employment	Wage employment	No	Wage employment	No	Wage employment & self-employment

Table 5.3: Vocational education (VE) courses in 9 NGOs

	NGO ₁	NGO ₂	NGO ₃	NGO ₄	NGO ₅	NGO ₆	NGO ₇	NGO ₈	NGO ₉
Provision of VE courses, in response to the demands in garments and tourism:	Secretary (including computer, accounting, English, office skills etc)	Automotive; Electricity; Sewing; Hospitality; Computer; English	Hospitality; Welding; Beautician; Sewing; Electricity; Electronics; Mechanic Car; Mechanic Motorbike; Haircutting; Laundry	Sewing; Handicraft	Hospitality	Water purification (for drinking water)	Automobile; Electricity; Welding	Computer; English	Sewing; Motorbike; Hospitality; Computer; Carpet

Registration as either international or local NGOs may offer an entry to probe NGOs' different positions in the aid industry, and to examine the effects of their different cultural backgrounds and traditions upon the employment and empowerment of their service beneficiaries. It is therefore directly linked with Research Questions 1 and 6.

Organizational **size** may be visualized from student numbers, and is also one key contingency that influences the 'environment-organization fit', according to Organization Theory (Morgan 1989; Tsoukas and Knudsen 2003). Differences or changes in organizational size are supposed to reflect different managerial styles, and thus may result in different answers to Research Questions 2 and 3.

Four **locations** have been selected to represent urban Cambodia, where the garment and tourist industries intersecting with both formal and informal sectors are more easily found. They are:

- *Phnom Penh* (the biggest city and the capital city);
- *Battambang* (the second biggest city);
- *Siem Reap* (the tourist town where the world-famous Angkor Wat is located);
- *Poipet* (the border town, with main access to neighbouring Thailand).

Moreover, environmental contingencies may be apparent when the contextual comparison is made among four different cities. Environmental change is another key contingency that influences the 'environment-organization fit', and will activate different managerial responses. Such different responses could be carefully examined by looking at three cases under the same Catholic order (i.e. NGO₁, NGO₂ and NGO₄ located in Phnom Penh, Poipet and Battambang, respectively).

Both the variables ‘**training mode**’ and ‘**knowledge and skills portfolio**’ are critical to Research Questions 4 and 5, for examining the ways in which NGOs’ pedagogies may be meaningful and relevant to the demands of the labour market and the interests of vulnerable young people. Finally the variable ‘**linkage to employment**’ is drawn upon, in order to ensure that both formal (waged employment) and informal (self-employment) sectors are included. Furthermore, some comparison could be made among the various NGOs’ managerial mechanisms for placing graduate students into work and linking education with employment. In particular, even though a large number of cases may be accredited with research potential (i.e. meeting the selection criteria) case selection is, after all, determined by the accessibility and unobtrusiveness of the researcher (Laws, Harper et al. 2003); it is determined by opportunities to learn (Stake, 2000). Given that the permission for access is finite, 9 different NGOs in four cities were eventually selected.

5.4.2 Data Collection Techniques

To conduct this multiple-case study, several research techniques (including semi-structured interview, structured interview, documentary collection, direct observation and participatory observation) were used to collect data in each NGO. They are mainly qualitative, except for a mini questionnaire (i.e. structured interview) employed in the second (follow-up) fieldwork. The use of multiple sources of evidence is an attempt to pursue credibility and triangulation, in order to cross-check the information while reducing the possibility of misunderstanding and misinterpretation (Denzin 1984; Stake 2000; Amaratunga and Baldry 2001; Yin 2003). To do so, two three-month periods of fieldwork were undertaken in Cambodia during

5 January – 25 March 2006, and 10 January – 25 March 2007. The exact times allocated and data collection techniques applied for these are indicated in Table 5.4a and Table 5.4b.

Table 5.4a: Time allocation, NGOs and cities visited, and data collection techniques applied in the first fieldwork (the year of 2006)

Duration	NGOs visited	City visited	Collection techniques applied
Jan 5 – Feb 6	NGO ₂ NGO ₆ NGO ₉	Poipet	Direct observation Semi-structured interview Documentary collection
Feb 6 – Feb 16	NGO ₁ NGO ₃	Phnom Penh	Direct observation Semi-structured interview Documentary collection
Feb 16 – Feb 23	NGO ₅	Siem Reap	Direct observation Participatory observation Semi-structured interview Documentary collection
Feb 23 – Feb 26	NGO ₂ NGO ₉	Poipet	Direct observation Semi-structured interview
Feb 26 – Feb 28	NGO ₄ NGO ₈	Battambang	Direct observation Semi-structured interview Documentary collection
Feb 28 – March 3	NGO ₂	Poipet	Direct observation Semi-structured interview
March 3 – March 25	NGO ₁ NGO ₃ NGO ₇	Phnom Penh	Direct observation Participatory observation Semi-structured interview Documentary collection

Table 5.4b: Time allocation, NGOs and cities visited, and data collection techniques applied in the second fieldwork (the year of 2007)

Duration	NGOs visited	City visited	Collection techniques applied
Jan 10 – Jan 18	NGO ₅	Siem Reap	Semi-structured interview
Jan 18 – Jan 31	NGO ₁ NGO ₃ NGO ₇	Phnom Penh	Semi-structured interview Direct observation Documentary collection
Jan 31 – Feb 2	NGO ₄ NGO ₈	Battambang	Semi-structured interview Direct observation
Feb 2 – Feb 20	NGO ₂ NGO ₆ NGO ₉	Poipet	Semi-structured interview Structured interview Direct observation
Feb 20 – Feb 23	NGO ₄	Battambang	Semi-structured interview Direct observation
Feb 23 – Feb 26	NGO ₂	Poipet	Semi-structured interview Direct observation Documentary collection
Feb 26 – March 25	NGO ₁	Phnom Penh	Semi-structured interview Structured interview Direct observation Documentary collection

As seen in Table 5.4a, I started my primary visit in Poipet (where I worked as an NGO coordinator during the years 2003-2004, and thus had personal contacts there who were sympathetic to my work). Through snowballing sampling and reputational sampling (these terms will be explained in 5.4.2.1 (a)), I was introduced by one NGO to another. The international NGO₂ was my first target for a visit, since it offered the largest vocational education courses in Poipet. Also, as a Catholic missionary organisation, the overseas headquarter of NGO₂ has a long history and good reputation for providing training to vulnerable young people in developing countries generally, and Cambodia in particular.

5.4.2.1 First Fieldwork (5 January – 25 March 2006)

a. Semi-Structured Interview

Based on the research questions (in 5.3), interview questions for service providers and beneficiaries were carefully developed (respectively seen in Appendices A and B) at the outset of my first fieldwork period in Cambodia. The questions were designed to avoid leading styles, but remained open-ended and were asked in a conversational manner. Most of the Khmer interviewees felt sensitive and rather uncomfortable with the presence of the tape recorder, given their previous long experience of socio-political instability in Cambodia. In these cases my recording strategy was to take very detailed notes immediately after every single interview, or at least to make my notes before the end of the same day (McGregor 2006). As Laws and her colleagues also point out in their sourcebook *'Research for Development: A Practical Guide'* (2003), making notes after the interaction is the least intrusive method of recording fieldwork events and is effective in leading interviewees to discuss things more freely, especially in semi-structured and in-depth interview. On the downside, it is a challenge for the researcher's memory upon which the recording quality is greatly dependent (Laws, Harper et al. 2003). Opinions and statements taken from interviewees are anonymous, given ethical and confidentiality considerations. Before conducting the interviews with teaching and non-teaching staff and students of the 9 NGOs, I obtained prior permission from their leading managers (i.e. gatekeepers), and was honest with them about my research position and purposes.

Analogous to case selection among the NGOs, the selection of interviewees also lay in purposive sampling. Within the wide range of purposive sampling, some specific techniques were adopted: reputational sampling (Johnson 1994) led me to contact

those who are considered important to VE service delivery by others. Moreover, a combination of convenience sampling and snowballing sampling (Jessop 1998; Laws, Harper et al. 2003) among both service providers (including leading managers, administrative staff, and teaching staff) and beneficiaries (namely, vulnerable young people) was also applied. Purposive sampling depends heavily upon the judgment of the researcher who is regarded as a research instrument. The researcher’s subjectivity and bias had to be available for scrutiny, and leveraged by the transparency of the research process and the researcher’s own reflexivity. This was aided by circulating transcripts as well as reporting back to the key interviewees (Smith 1999; Brydon 2006); in this case, key interviewees referred to those leading managers.

Table 5.5: Numbers of interviewees by occupation and NGO in the first fieldwork (2006)

Names of NGOs	No. of Leading Managers	No. of Administrative Staff	No. of Teaching Staff	No. of Current Students*
NGO ₁	2	0	5	57
NGO ₂	2	1	5	12
NGO ₃	1	0	0	0
NGO ₄	1	0	0	0
NGO ₅	1	4	3	0
NGO ₆	2	1	0	0
NGO ₇	1	0	0	0
NGO ₈	1	0	6	0
NGO ₉	2	0	0	0
In Total	13	6	19	69

* The gender ratio of female to male was 61 to 8.

Note: In total, there were 107 interviewees.

The above table lists the numbers of managerial staff (including leading managers and administrative staff), teachers and current students whom I interviewed in each NGO. The duration of the interviews varied to quite a marked degree. In most cases, the interviews with managerial and teaching staff took one hour (with some lasting perhaps two hours), but the interviews with students were shorter and took 30 minutes on average. As seen, the findings of pedagogic and managerial concepts may at least be triangulated by cross-checking views: (1) among different interviewees (of leading managers, administrative staff, teachers and students); (2) among different NGOs; (3) among different data collection techniques; and even (4) across two different periods of fieldwork (The second period will be discussed in 5.4.2.2).

b. Direct and Participatory Observation

Two kinds of observation took place in the first period of fieldwork, namely direct observation and participatory observation, for the advantages and disadvantages of both were recognized. I took advantage of direct observation because it could be undertaken in a systematic, consistent way by producing a checklist of objectives to directly compare ‘what people did’ with ‘what people said about what they did’ (Denscombe 1998). Moreover, by virtue of direct observation, I was able to gather a large volume of data in a relatively short period (Yin 2003). However, the disadvantage of this data collection technique was equally obvious: I simultaneously took the risk of over-simplifying and distorting the meaning of what was happening in the NGOs. Also, despite my caution and efforts to create a minimum of disturbance, my direct presence as an observer inevitably had an influence upon people’s performance and the behaviour that I observed (Laws, Harper et al. 2003).

For the direct observation, I identified a list of objectives (as in Appendix C) and checked those objectives out in each NGO. The intention was to directly observe what people did, in order to differentiate it from what they said they did. Direct observation in the first fieldwork took at least three days or more in each NGO, to ensure that all objectives were observed and cross-checked with different people's behaviour and reactions to the same pedagogic and managerial inputs. However, my visits to two NGOs (i.e. NGO₄ in Battambang and NGO₇ in Phnom Penh) were exceptionally short, and I was only able to spend one day in each. Through snowballing sampling, I was introduced to the international NGO₄ in Battambang. However, I was only able to contact its Dutch director on my last day in Battambang. At the local NGO₇ in Phnom Penh, I contacted its Cambodian vice-president after permission for my research was received from its Japanese support organization. Again a similar time constraint applied, as I had promised to spend three weeks working as a volunteer English teacher at the international NGO₁ in Phnom Penh beginning on the following day. At last, in order to counteract the above constraint, particular attention was given to arranging sufficient time at both NGO₄ and NGO₇ during the second period of fieldwork.

In addition, 2 NGOs (NGO₃ and NGO₆) had relatively strict policies about visitors' activities. In both of these NGOs activities such as photography and hanging around the services were not encouraged. A social worker from NGO₆ went on to tell me that an exception was made only for donors' visits; this cautious policy was because the presence of too many visitors might cause disturbance or intrusion for the vulnerable young people living and learning in the NGO rehabilitation and education centres. This being so, I was only able to observe part of their activities. For example I

observed the catering training project at NGO₃ (in its NGO-owned restaurant), but was unable to have access to its other training projects.

Having been aware of the limitations and disadvantages of direct observation, I therefore looked for opportunities to undertake participatory observation as a complementary approach in order to offset the over-simplification and distortion in direct observation. Being an ‘insider’ in participatory observation meant that I learnt from daily working within the NGOs, and got along with the people and settings that I observed (Donge 2006). Indeed, in this way people readily ‘forgot’ that I was a researcher. Nevertheless, my observation was conditioned by my role and duties as a short-term voluntary teacher. Rather than developing an overall outlook on the organizational operation and management of vocational education projects, my time and attention were largely drawn to my personal commitment to voluntary work and to my personal relationships with some staff and students. Personal involvement in NGO work also allowed me less time and concentration for thought and reflection. While direct observation was employed in all 9 cases, only two of them – i.e. NGO₁ in Phnom Penh and NGO₅ in Siem Reap, were available for me to observe in a participatory way. Accordingly, I carried out direct observation and participatory observation during different times in these two NGOs. For instance, I visited NGO₁ during 6-16 February 2006 and 3-25 March 2006. The first period was for direct observation, while the second was for participatory study. Having been a voluntary English teacher in NGO₁ gave me a great opportunity to attend its activities (e.g. opening ceremony of a new term; a welcome party for the Southeast Asian regional director of this Catholic order), to participate in internal staff meetings, and more importantly to build up personal, interactive and dialogic relationships with both

service providers and beneficiaries. Aside from NGO₁, I also had the opportunity of participatory observation in the training restaurant of NGO₅. Following three days of direct observation in NGO₅, I spent another three days serving in the training restaurant. I washed dishes with NGO₅ students, helped with work in the kitchen and served food to customers. Because of my very close contact with local staff and students, many spontaneous conversations were generated and much insight into their motivation rather than observable behaviour was also gained. To sum up, Table 5.6 briefly displays the direct and participatory observation conducted in 9 NGOs:

Table 5.6: Direct observation and participatory observation in 9 NGOs

Names of NGOs	Direct Observation	Participatory Observation
NGO ₁	√	√
NGO ₂	√	X
NGO ₃	√(limited)	X
NGO ₄	√	X
NGO ₅	√	√
NGO ₆	√(limited)	X
NGO ₇	√	X
NGO ₈	√	X
NGO ₉	√	X
In Total	9 (√)	2 (√)

Note: the symbol √ refers to observation (whether direct or participatory), while X means that the observation technique was not employed. For example, in NGO₇ direct observation was effected, and participatory observation was not available. The word ‘limited’ indicates that two NGOs (i.e. NGO₃ and NGO₆) had restricted access and thus my direct observation was limited.

c. Documentary Collection

Four principles for approaching documents (i.e. *authenticity*, *credibility*, *representativeness* and *meaning*) were considered when selecting textual materials for this study (Scott 1990). To meet those principles, the documents that I collected in the field in Cambodia were sourced from 9 NGOs from the case study, and from other NGOs (i.e. TOPS, ZOA, CARE, CRWRC, FRA, Hagar, SIPAR, CCC) located in the same four cities, international aid agencies (i.e. World Bank, IOM, JCA), governmental bodies (i.e. MoEYS, MoP and CDC), academic research institutes (i.e. University of Cambodia, EIC and CEA) and the Cambodian National Library. It was noted that the textual materials could only be understood while having regard to the context of their production, and their intended purpose of use (Silverman 2001). Borne in mind throughout the process of documentary collection and analysis was the need to constantly question and identify the readership of the documents, i.e. who produced the text for whom, when and why? Given that different documents informed my research in rather distinct ways, the collected documents may be categorized in the following way:

The *first* category includes basic information about the 9 NGOs in the case study, e.g. lists of academic and non-academic staff, numbers of students, organisational structures and development projects in which the NGO is engaged. The identity of each NGO may also be shown in its published products (such as annual reports, bulletins and prospectuses) through which its organisational policy, development vision, mission and objectives are addressed. Five NGOs from the case study (i.e. NGO₂, NGO₃, NGO₅, NGO₆ and NGO₉) had established their own official websites, the other four had not. Remote from the field in Cambodia, I particularly appreciated

and found it very useful and helpful to have both access to the NGOs' official websites and personal communication (via electronic mail) with the organisations' leading managers and teachers. The latter, given my absence from the field, continually proffered rich, in-depth insight into the NGOs' internal operations. The information available on the five websites was updated regularly and often, and this could be discussed by email with the leading managers and teachers.

The *second* category was facts and figures as related generally to NGOs in Cambodia. Their guidelines and directories were collected from CDC and CCC respectively. The first set of publications helped me to clarify the official registration procedure and existing networks of both international and local NGOs operating at the national and provincial levels. The directories then unveiled the NGOs' different development philosophies, the history of their involvement in Cambodia, personnel, location of work, funding sources and annual budgets, development projects and so on.

The *third* was knowledge of vocational education (VE) provision in Cambodia. This category included VE resource books, training manuals and an organised, thorough list of public and private VE institutions in the country. Some unpublished materials concerning NGOs' VE curricular design and evidence of students' performance were also found, such as students' examination materials along with results, VE course timetables, draft plans and staff meeting notes for internal use in the individual NGOs.

The *fourth* category referred to the contextual information and understanding of the four cities where my case study was undertaken (i.e. Phnom Penh, Battambang, Siem

Reap and Poipet). The relevant reports and research texts collected contained reviews of demographic and environmental information, economic activities, the implementation of education reform, and social issues in the four locations. The reports were mainly produced independently and circulated by international NGOs and bigger local NGOs located in those urban areas.

The *final* category was up to date facts, figures and analyses of politics, the economy, socio-culture and education in Cambodia as a whole. Items that I selected in this category included policy documents and official surveys undertaken by the government and the various ministries, plus research papers from international aid agencies and academic research institutes.

5.4.2.2 Second Fieldwork (10 January – March 25 2007)

According to the managerial and pedagogical data collected in the first fieldwork, 13 important managerial and pedagogic constituents were found that appeared to be most critical to the effectiveness of an NGO VE service in Cambodia. However, some constituent relations were not clear. In other words, an information matrix was produced but was apparently incomplete (Appendix D). With the information matrix in Appendix D completed, organizational models of 9 NGOs could be built up and the effectiveness of each NGO clearly shown (as will be elaborated in 5.4.3(b)). Owing to this, the second fieldwork needed to be designed such as to achieve the following two research objectives:

One objective was to supplement information for making further judgments about the relations among 13 managerial and pedagogical constituents explored in the first

fieldwork exercise. To achieve this objective, three data collection activities were undertaken: firstly, semi-structured interviews with the original or additional service providers in 9 NGOs representing the case studies; secondly, direct observation in the 9 NGOs and thirdly, documentary collection. The design of both interview questions and observing list was to be thoroughly guided by the incomplete cells (i.e. those cells containing the question mark '?') in the information matrix in Appendix D.

The other (in fact, the main) objective of the second fieldwork was to follow up graduate students' learning outcomes at their workplaces, i.e. to examine the relations of the 13 constituents to the original service beneficiaries' employment and empowerment. It was hoped that effectiveness from the service users' perspective would be gauged. The definitions of the terms 'empowerment' and 'employment' had been addressed, with reference to the last interview with both service providers and beneficiaries in the first fieldwork period. To achieve this main objective, two data collection techniques were again employed. The first was direct observation of original graduate students' performance at their place of work. The second was a structured interview (containing a mini questionnaire) to survey the graduates' learning outcomes. Those graduate students were still studying at their NGOs during the 2006 semi-structured interviews, while by the 2007 structured interviews they had been graduates for six months. The observation list and questionnaire are presented in Appendices E and F respectively.

All in all, although this doctoral research is mainly qualitative, there are two reasons for making use of structured interviews (i.e. the mini questionnaire in Appendix F) rather than semi-structured interviews here. The first is to make my research more

realistic. Given the previous follow-up experience (when I worked for NGO VE projects during 2000-2001, and 2003-2004), graduate students are rather easier to find and contact at their workplace than at home. The semi-structured interview usually takes longer and therefore is more disruptive when those being interviewed have to work at the same time. There is also less likelihood of creating an open and conversational atmosphere in a work setting for the conduct of a semi-structured interview. The other is to allow the opportunity to gather a great deal of data in a relatively short period, in a properly organized and consistent way. The questionnaire helps to identify correctly any changes that have occurred in the graduates' lives (by collecting 'basic information' in the questionnaire), and by capturing their perception of their own employment and empowerment after graduation (by asking eleven questions, also in the questionnaire).

Table 5.7: Number of interviewees by occupation and NGO in the second fieldwork period (2007)

Names of NGOs	No. of Leading Managers	No. of Administrative Staff	No. of Teaching Staff	No. of Current Students*
NGO ₁	3	0	2	56
NGO ₂	3	3	6	11
NGO ₃	2	0	0	0
NGO ₄	1	0	0	0
NGO ₅	1	0	0	0
NGO ₆	2	1	0	0
NGO ₇	2	0	0	0
NGO ₈	1	1	2	0
NGO ₉	2	1	1	0
In Total	17	6	11	67

* The gender ratio of female to male was 59 to 8.

Note: In total, there were 101 interviewees.

Finally, as displayed in Table 5.7, the actual numbers of interviewees (by different occupations and NGOs) in the second fieldwork exercise proved somewhat different from those in the first (as seen in Table 5.5). The changing nature of NGOs' personnel, in turn, sends a signal to challenge NGO managers and will be addressed in Chapter 6, Findings.

5.4.3 Data Analysis Process

Following data collection an analytic agenda, as a systematic and iterative analysis process, is set up to further ensure the internal validity of the research and eventually, to move towards development of a model. Two stages are therefore involved:

a. Initial Stage

This analytic stage has been designed and adjusted according to the development research work by Laws, Harper and Marcus (2003). Its aim is to help not only develop new ideas, but also explore the managerial and pedagogic components of effectiveness in the 9 cases studied. The raw qualitative data were analysed in an iterative process between *Phases One to Five* as shown next, using the analytic software NVivo. By doing so, 6 pedagogical and 7 managerial concepts most frequently emerged from the analytic process and these were found in essence to constitute the effectiveness of NGOs' intervention in vocational education (VE) in the Cambodian urban context. The explorative findings of these 13 constituents (in total) will be presented and discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Phase One: to code, organise and catalogue the qualitative data.

Phase Two: to clarify and identify elements and themes, and to decide how different elements relate to each other.

Phase Three: to revise the conceptual framework, by comparing and contrasting the findings of a first case with the framework.

Phase Four: to compare the revision with the facts of the second, third, ...and ninth cases, in order to set up a cross-case hypothetical model.

Phase Five: to repeat the process (from Phase One to Four) as many times as needed.

Having developed the general analytical process in the first place (i.e. Phases One to Five), the question borne in mind is whether an analytic software such as NVivo is welcomed in this process. Moreover, is NVivo rather than other computer programmes (e.g. MAXqda, QDA Miner, ATLAS.ti and HyperRESEARCH) helpful in my analysis at this initial stage? As Crewswell (2007) suggests, an analytic software is most needed in qualitative research when the research involves a lot of data. In the work of introducing empirical, multiple-case study, Yin (2003) also indicates that one greater benefit from computerised analytic tools is to derive meaning, concepts and ideas from the frequent pattern and word usage in large textual databases (like interview transcription, field notes and documents collected across 9 NGOs in my case study). This benefit is further supported by both studies of Crewswell (2007) and Lewins and Silver (2007) in investigating different computer programmes in qualitative analysis. They agree that most programmes provide fundamental, similar features in the exploration of textual data since it is the researcher, not the software, who does the coding, categorising and concept mapping in the initial stage of data analysis.

b. Final Stage

In this stage the specific analytic strategy is charted. First, *Dynamic Concept Analysis (DCA)* is used in order to model the effectiveness, by means of the 13 empirical constituents. Then the quantitative follow-up data from surveying the graduate students' learning outcomes are processed and analyzed using *SPSS*, in order to scrutinize constituent models in DCA and to validate and transform those cross-case hypothetical models into a body of useful knowledge.

DCA modelling is applied in order to gather insights into the VE service provision within NGOs in Cambodia, and also to generate further testing and verification. In accordance with the empirical qualitative evidence from the first fieldwork, an incomplete information matrix including details of the relations among 13 managerial and pedagogic constituents (already identified in the initial stage) was established in Appendix D. In this incomplete information structure, each cell gave a statement indicating a one-way relation from one constituent to another constituent in question. For example, 'Cell 1/2' indicates a one-way relation from Constituent 2 (i.e. 'Rehabilitation') to Constituent 1 (i.e. 'Relationship'). Many cells in the matrix showed a positive linear relationship between two constituents (e.g. Cell 4/1 'Relationship' → 'Know-how'). On the other hand, a cell might represent a trend towards a positive (e.g. Cell 6/11) or negative (e.g. Cell 10/11) correlation. An empty cell however indicated that there was no relationship (e.g. Cell 5/8 'Information' → 'Incentive'). A cell containing the question mark '?' meant that the relationship was still unknown, as I was without the relevant empirical evidence to make a judgment (e.g. Cell 7/13) according to the data collected from the first fieldwork. However,

having integrated Appendix D with supplementary data from the second fieldwork, a complete information matrix was eventually produced (as in Appendix G), each constituent relation in each cell was defined (as stated in Appendix H), and directly contributed to the analytic discussion and modelling findings in Chapter 8.

In Appendix G three attributes are given to each constituent, in order to reveal the degree of emphasis or the characteristics within the different constituents. Table 8.1 (in Chapter 8) presents the different characteristics or the different levels of stress that the 9 NGOs put on each constituent. Based on a complete version of Appendix G, the attribute combinations in Table 8.1 will be further selected to build 9 NGO models. As Kontiainen and Tight (2002) suggest, models should not rest so much on their objective validity; rather, they have served to illuminate and help confirm my understanding of NGOs' intervention in urban areas of Cambodia. First, a comparison may be made among 9 models, by linking the models with the case selection matrix in Table 5.2. Secondly, they help identify the relative importance of the constituents used within the 9 models as a group. Finally, they confirm my understanding of effectiveness in each NGO, after the internal consistency and relations among 13 constituents in each NGO are clearly drawn and displayed by the DCA modelling software. The rationale for examining the internal consistency among the constituents of a NGO VE service directly derives from the logic that the higher internal consistency is, the more effectiveness it represents (Fowler and Pratt 1997; Grierson 1997; Bosker and Visscher 1999; Kontiainen and Tight 2002; Creemers and Kyriakides 2008). Moreover, a thorough discussion about theoretical underpinnings, methodological challenges and modelling practices of DCA application will be put forward in Chapter 8, with scrutiny of the service beneficiaries' follow-up results.

Chapter 6 Exploring Managerial Findings

6.1 Introduction

Having conducted data collection and analysis of the 9 NGOs in the last methodological chapter, both managerial findings (in Chapter 6) and pedagogic ones (in Chapter 7) in this multiple-case study will be exposed and explored by means of inter-NGO comparison. The findings analyzed in this chapter and the next are derived from the qualitative data gathered in both periods of empirical fieldwork (the first: 5 January-25 March 2006, and the follow-up: 10 January-25 March 2007). In addition to observation (both direct and participatory) and documentary collection, both service providers' and beneficiaries' viewpoints as gathered in semi-structured interviews are taken into account for exploring the managerial and pedagogic constituents of effective NGO intervention into vocational education (VE). By doing so, the six sub-research questions have been directly answered and accordingly, the unknown gaps identified in the conceptual framework (as seen in Figure 5.1) were able to be filled.

The research design of investigating nine cases (i.e. nine NGO VE services) is in fact underpinned by the methodological concept and principles of 'collective case study' (Yin, 2003). Based upon its instrumental and strategic principle, the data collected in the field and the resulting findings discussed here are very much dependent upon the need and relevance of answers to the six research questions, rather than providing a dense description and exhaustive understanding of every detail and aspect of the nine NGOs. Following this, the insight into each case will be gained in a synthetic and holistic way (i.e. across different interviewees and data collection techniques within a

case). Then nine different cases will be compared with one another, in order to better explain, reason and produce evidence concerning a managerial or pedagogic issue.

Accordingly I shall begin this chapter with a clearer depiction of the qualitative data collected in both periods of fieldwork, and especially illustrate how cases, interviewees, quotations of transcripts, documents collected and observation field notes have been coded and used in the research. The purpose of this is so that the reader may be made more familiar with the data before any analytic results are demonstrated and discussed. Secondly, corresponding more closely to the six sub-research questions, the findings in Chapters 6 and 7 will be explored in the following broad categories in order:

- Management at NGO organizational (intermediate) level (to Question 1), in 6.3.
- Management at VE service (micro) level (to Question 2), in 6.4.
- Resource and relationship (to Question 3), in 6.4.3.
- Pedagogy at VE service (micro) level (to Question 4), in 7.1.
- Defining Empowerment (to Question 5), in 7.2.1.
- Power relationship (to Question 6), in 7.2.2.

Finally, the managerial and pedagogic constituents of effectiveness will be deduced and summarized at the end (in 7.3), as the sources of conceptualizing and modeling each NGO VE service in Chapter 8.

6.2 A Depiction of Qualitative Data

The qualitative, empirical evidence was collected across two separate periods of fieldwork conducted during 2006 and 2007, in order to gather insights into what managerial and pedagogic constituents of NGO VE services are central to their effective intervention, and then to gauge the constituent relations. As explained in Chapter 5, the answers to the research questions were initially sought in the first fieldwork period during 2006, by means of semi-structured interviews with 38 service providers and 69 service beneficiaries, direct observation of 9 NGO VE services, participatory observation of 2 NGO VE services, and documentary collection. To distinguish the different sources of evidence and quotations, four different fonts are used in the chapter:

‘Quotation 1 represents the words of the service providers’.

‘Quotation 2 represents words of the service beneficiaries’.

‘Quotation 3 represents extracts from my observation field notes’.

‘Quotation 4 represents quotations from documents collected in the field’.

Furthermore, the second fieldwork³ activity in 2007 was planned and conducted in order to supplement and thoroughly clarify the managerial and pedagogic constituent relations derived from the first period of fieldwork; direct observation in 9 NGO VE services, and semi-structured interviews with 34 service providers were arranged.

³ As detailed in Chapter 5, the second fieldwork was designed with two objectives. One was to obtain supplementary information to clarify further the VE service constituent relations; the other was to evaluate the relations of the constituents to 69 original service beneficiaries’ learning outcomes, by re-interviewing them with a mini-questionnaire and observing their work performance at their workplaces. The findings for the latter objective will be presented in Chapter 8. (The 69 service beneficiaries were VE students in 2006, and had been graduates for six months by the time of the structured interviews in 2007).

Among those 34 interviewees, only 20 of the original interviewees were found in the field. The frequent change of NGOs' personnel between 2006 and 2007 has demonstrated, or at least offered some implications, for the uncertainty and instability in NGO development work in the urban Cambodian context.

Table 6.1 indicates the code name of each NGO and interviewee in this multiple-case study. 9 NGOs are separately coded as NGO₁, NGO₂, NGO₃ ...and NGO₉. 'L', 'A' 'T' and 'S' respectively represent 4 groups of interviewees: leading managers, administrative staff, teaching staff and service beneficiaries. Individual interviewees are identified and coded as 'L01' 'L02' 'A01' 'A02' 'T01' 'T02' 'S01' 'S02' etc. In the following chapters, I shall use the code names to refer to the NGOs and interviewees of case study, especially when mentioning them or quoting their words as evidence. Table 6.1 also shows that the number of leading managers in 2007 was more than that in 2006, whilst teaching staff dropped from 19 persons in 2006 to 11 in 2007. The interviews with teaching staff were fewer, first because many NGOs (such as NGO₁ and NGO₈) have reduced their reliance upon foreign voluntary teachers. Secondly, the VE service in NGO₅ was temporarily closed⁴, so many of its teaching staff were not available for interview in 2007.

⁴ NGO₅ is now trying to find another location for its VE service (a training restaurant), because it failed to negotiate with the landlord to extend its lease at the end of 2006.

Table 6.1: Code names of all NGOs and interviewees in 2006 and 2007

Code names	NGO ₁		NGO ₂		NGO ₃		NGO ₄		NGO ₅		NGO ₆		NGO ₇		NGO ₈		NGO ₉		Total	
	06	07	06	07	06	07	06	07	06	07	06	07	06	07	06	07	06	07	06	07
Year of fieldwork	L01	L02	L04	L05	L08	L08	L10	L10	L11	L11	L12	L12	L14	L14	L16	L16	L17	L17	L13	L13
Leading Manager (L)	L02	L03	L05	L06	L09	L09					L13	L13	L15	L15			L18	L18		
			L07	L07													L19	L19		
Administrative Staff (A)			A01	A02					A04	A04	A08	A08			A09	A09	A10	A10	6	6
			A03	A03					A05	A05										
									A06	A06										
									A07	A07										
Teaching Staff (T)	T01	T02	T07	T08					T14	T14							T23	T23	19	11
	T03		T09	T09					T15	T15										
		T04	T10	T10					T16	T16										
	T05	T05	T11	T11																
	T06		T12	T12																
			T13	T13																
Service Beneficiaries (S)	S01	(S01	S58	(S58															69	(67)
	to	to	to	to																
	S57	S57)	S69	S69)																
Total (L, A, T)	7	5	8	12	1	2	1	1	8	1	3	3	1	2	7	4	2	4	38	34
Total (L, A, T, S)	64	61	20	23															107	101

6.3 Management at NGO Organisational Level

The descriptive and explorative findings in this section shed light upon Research Question 1 that seeks to understand the organisational aspects of NGO management, with special reference to the distinct tradition (including development vision, mission, objectivities, and organisational culture as well as structure) of each NGO intervening in vocational education for vulnerable young people in Cambodia. By doing so, a richer and more clear account of NGO organisational structures might be revealed, and help accurately contextualise the main findings and discussion in the remainder of Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

CASE 1: NGO₁ (International, Religious, Phnom Penh)

NGO₁ has been registered as an international NGO (INGO) based in north-eastern Phnom Penh since 1994, one year after the ceasefire to the nation's long-running civil war. The organisation as a whole is structured like a typical vocational boarding school. About 129 young women study on this two-year, full-time secretarial course. Among these, three quarters come from provinces other than Phnom Penh.

Having come from the same Roman Catholic religious order, NGO₁ (in Phnom Penh) and NGO₄ (in Battambang) focus on female education only, while NGO₂ (in Poipet) accepts students of both sexes. This religious order has a very long history (since the 19th century) and central mission to serve and educate disadvantaged young people, especially by providing them with vocational and technical skills. It operates in the developing countries in general, and Cambodia in particular. As cited below, the words '*be empowered*' in NGO₁'s mission statement imply not only skill acquisition, but also character building. In that view, its educational philosophy is designed not

just to combat poverty but to develop the future leadership of Cambodian society.

‘VISION: our vision is a peaceful, developed Cambodia, where poor youth receive quality education, moral and spiritual values are upheld, women play active roles in decision-making and nation-building.

MISSION: to inspire hope, nurture life, promote human dignity through integral development of poor youth, especially girls that they may experience God, love and be empowered, become active and honest citizens.’ (Cited from an unpublished policy paper from NGO₁ in 2007)

The current structure of NGO₁ has a leadership composed of four foreign Catholic sisters (as leading managers), one secretary, and seven teachers for the Cambodian females. In addition about five foreign volunteers are engaged in teaching activities on either a long-term and short-term basis, although such voluntary support is usually subject to change: a second-year student described how the voluntary English teacher for her class had been replaced eight times during the previous year. Moreover the leading managers, despite their lifelong commitment to Cambodia, are appointed to an NGO for three years and that can only be renewed for another three year period. After that, they must transfer to another NGO run by the same religious order. The changes in leadership are equally debatable. As observed, the leading managers need to spend a great deal of time adjusting to a new organisational context, and gaining some understanding of it. New leaders tend to be conservative, avoiding any innovations or organisational reform at the beginning of their term. They are quite likely to produce new ideas and reforms a year or two before the end of their placement, but these will be cautiously inspected by the succeeding leaders. Accordingly there sometimes occurs a ‘vicious circle’ in the overall NGO

management, which is to be seen in the next case.

CASE 2: NGO₂ (International, Religious, Poipet)

NGO₂ was officially inaugurated in 2004 in the Thai-Cambodian border town, Poipet, located in the northwest of Cambodia. When seen, the leadership consisted of 3 foreign Catholic fathers and 1 Thai technician (as leading managers) and staffed by 40 Cambodian nationals. To prevent and protect trafficked children and young people in Poipet, NGO₂ is engaged with the following four projects. The first and principal of these is a literacy centre for children aged between 10 and 15. The second is to provide children with scholarships enabling them to go to public schools. The third is a boarding house for trafficked boys and those otherwise at risk, and the final and latest project is a skills training centre, accommodating about 70 students aged above 15. As seen below, its vision and mission are a declared response to the educational needs in this border, migrant town, and focuses mainly on basic education.

‘VISION: we envision that poor, abandoned and marginalised children be provided with opportunities for basic elementary education and healthcare toward their integral development in order to be happy in this world and in the next.

MISSION: to protect and promote the right of children to a life befitting the human dignity and to work toward their basic education and wholesome integration into society.’ (Cited from a policy document published by NGO₂ in 2004)

One leading manager (L07, via email correspondence on 18 January 2007) emphasized that the main mission of NGO₂ is to cope with the plight of trafficked children, and undertakes as its primary task their reintegration back into society. Their VE service is only a supplementary project to offer a way out for those older children graduating from the literacy centre.

CASE 3: NGO₃ (Local, Secular, Phnom Penh)

NGO₃ was first founded to help street children in Phnom Penh in 1994, and has been localised since 2004. ‘(Before) the capacity of Khmer staff was built by foreign staff in one organisation...That was the whole story!’ as one leading manager (L08) said when interviewed. Although NGO₃ is now legally registered as a local NGO, 7 expatriate technical advisors from its international support organisations (SOs) remaining working in Cambodia in support of current 201 Cambodian staff and about 1400 children at NGO₃. On the positive side, the presence every day of those expatriate workers contributes to a tighter relationship between NGO₃ and its SOs, and helps to secure the funding and donations given to NGO₃; but on the debit side, the localisation and independence of NGO₃ may have been slowed down.

The overall objectives of NGO₃ are clearly stated in its official website:

- 1. Meeting the street children’s immediate essential needs in accordance with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child;*
- 2. Reintegrating the children into their families, into society, into the public school system, into their culture;*
- 3. Building the capacity of the staff so that the Cambodian nationals are able to run the programme independent of foreign intervention in the*

near future.

To meet the objectives, 12 inter-woven projects (including an outreach team, drop-in centre, transitional home, training centre, educational centre, in-centre social work team, medical care) have been developed. Positioned at the end of the overall organisational structure created by the above 12 projects, the training centre aims to provide vocational skills to 348 street children over 14 years old, in order to help them find gainful employment.

CASE 4: NGO₄ (International, Religious, Battambang)

NGO₄ was set up on the outskirts of Battambang in 2003. Combining a literacy centre and a sewing training centre, NGO₄ targets females who are at risk of trafficking and prostitution, and who live in the poor villages of Battambang Province. Recently there were 3 foreign sisters (from the same Catholic congregation as NGO₁), 4 Cambodian teachers (two for sewing and two for literacy) and 1 administrative assistant to take care of about 68 students.

Although NGO₁ and NGO₄ share the same vision and mission, the educational objectives of their VE services appear rather different from each other. While the former aims to educate competitive and managerial workers to benefit Cambodia in the future, the latter very much emphasizes the personal healing process rather than the acquisition of good vocational skills. As described by one sister (L10) in NGO₄, many students first need to learn how to play and trust others. Unlike the competitive students in NGO₁ in the Capital, Phnom Penh, students in Battambang are found to be more easily frustrated by learning. As a result, at NGO₄ she must

make every effort not to allow students to give up on learning.

CASE 5: NGO₅ (International, Secular, Siem Reap)

As a Japanese INGO, NGO₅ was founded in 1999 to help landmine victims in Siem Reap Province. Its main project is the construction and development of two villages for landmine victims, on the outskirts of the tourist town Siem Reap. A small headquarters (HQ) in Japan manages fund raising activities, from where the Japanese founder offers strong leadership and has frequent contact with the field office (FO) in Siem Reap to help make decisions about work in the field. The FO is headed by a male Cambodian, and is staffed by 37 Cambodian nationals and 5 Japanese short-term volunteers.

The younger people in the two villages are grouped into two educational paths, one being general education and the other vocational training. In 2003 a training restaurant was set up for those who did not wish to follow the academic path. According to the stated objectives of the training restaurant, it aims to *‘train these children with the restaurant and language skills (English and Japanese) that will help them eventually support themselves and their families, and give them hope for a better future. Upon finishing their training with us, we help them find jobs in the local area’* (Cited from the NGO₅ field office introductory leaflet). About 29 children aged between 13 and 19 were being trained and living in the restaurant accommodation during my visit and observation in 2006. The restaurant is located in the town centre of Siem Reap. The children attended primary (and lower secondary) schools for half the day, then worked as apprentices with 6 cooks (i.e. trainers) for the other half. After the restaurant closed at night, the apprentices had two-hour

lessons in English (from a Cambodian teacher) and Japanese (from Japanese volunteers).

CASE 6: NGO₆ (Local, Secular, Poipet)

NGO₆ was started in Poipet in 1999. Following its formal localisation in 2004, the NGO is led by 5 Cambodian coordinators, 47 Cambodian staff members and 2 part-time expatriate technical advisors (to support fund raising and reporting). Two separate international support organisations (SOs) are located in Switzerland and Germany. Having been greatly influenced by its Swiss SO, the leadership structure at NGO₆ is based on five coordinators working together rather than having a single president with senior status.

Every month, the Thai police deport hundreds of trafficked children to Poipet. In view of this, NGO₆ set its objectives as:

- *prevention of child-abuse, substance abuse and child trafficking (cross-border trafficking to Thailand).*
- *Rehabilitation of under-age substance abusers and traumatised children.*
- *Reintegration of street children and trafficked children into their communities, their villages and, if possible, their families of origin.* (Cited from NGO₆ published policy paper)

To do so, a series of inter-linked programmes has been developed. These include the drop-in centre, rehabilitation centre (for children who abuse substances), residential centre, literacy class (for integrating them into public schools), vocational training, micro credit, a medical clinic and a social work team. While a total of 420 children are served by NGO₆ daily, its vocational training project (a water purification plant)

represents only a very small part of the organisation and employs just 15 older boys aged over 15. The project began in 2002, with one full-time staff member supervising those boys who share their day between school and working as apprentices.

CASE 7: NGO₇ (Local, Secular, Phnom Penh)

The organisational structure of NGO₇ is the combination of a technical school, a student boarding house and an automobile maintenance workshop. It was set up in 1990 and formally localised in 1998. Since localization NGO₇ has successfully enjoyed managerial independence from the Japanese SO, and is totally self-reliant financially given the income generated by the maintenance workshop.

As reported by the director (L15) in an interview on 19 March 2007, the main objective of NGO₇ ‘is to equip the students with the skills relevant to car repairing, like electronic and electric course, and welding course. We hope that they could find the jobs, have stronger and better future’. Besides two Cambodian senior leading managers (L15 and L14), NGO₇ has 11 local trainers. Together they educate about 110 young students via a free, two-year, full-time training course. Over half the students are from provinces other than Phnom Penh. The number of boarding students fell from 50 in 2006 to 35 in 2007, as the SO finally stopped giving support (subsistence and scholarships for boarding students) at the end of 2006.

CASE 8: NGO₈ (International, Religious, Battambang)

NGO₈ was founded by a missionary couple (from a Filipino Christian mission) in the city of Battambang in 2002. As a missionary-led INGO, the very clear and

primary goal of NGO₈ is evangelism and expansion of the church. To do so, NGO₈ established a computer and English learning centre. Through teaching and learning activities they have developed personal relationships with local communities, and simultaneously generated income to sustain their missionary activities. The tuition fee for English and Computer courses in NGO₈ is about two-thirds of that which local private English and Computer schools normally charge. In addition to the lower fee, the presence of professional foreign teachers (normally, Christian Filipino voluntary teachers) successfully attracts 400 students on average every year and in turn self-finances 60% of all expenditure. 10 Cambodian nationals are also employed as teachers, and these are particularly selected from the church that the missionary couple established in Battambang. Very strong leadership and close, harmonious relationships among staff are apparent.

CASE 9: NGO₉ (Local, Religious, Poipet)

In 2002 NGO₉ was started by a Christian Cambodian in Poipet. After successfully building up the long-term partnership with a British Christian-based INGO, the director and founder of NGO₉ and his staff (numbering 32 in 2007) made efforts to realise the concept of ‘integrated community development’ in and around Poipet area, by implementing a wide range of activities. They cover agricultural teaching at homes and schools, social awareness of child trafficking and domestic violence, construction and support of primary schools, HIV/AIDS education, well-drilling, other vocational training, and establishing local churches.

As stated in the policy paper published by NGO₉, the vision of this local NGO is to *‘envision a complete network of strong, hope-filled communities where adequate*

physical, psychological and spiritual welfare is enjoyed by all formerly vulnerable individuals.’ As the work of NGO₉ targets communities rather than people, most of its projects are duplicated from one community to another, and interwoven loosely for the complex needs of communities. The selection of its project beneficiaries (including VE service and other projects) is thus very flexible, and might be debatable if the heterogeneity of different communities is taken into account.

To sum up, the differences of the overall organisational structures among the 9 case studies are found relevant to their main target groups in the four urban hubs. For instance, NGO₃ in particular has been developing a series of responsive projects for reorienting street children and youths in Phnom Penh; NGO₂ and NGO₆ for preventing trafficking children in Poipet; NGO₄ for helping girls at risk of trafficking and prostitution in Battambang; NGO₅ and NGO₉ for their community development in Siem Reap and Poipet respectively; and NGO₁, NGO₇ and NGO₈ separately in Phnom Penh and Battambang for educating vulnerable but gifted young people. Since NGO₁, NGO₂, NGO₄, NGO₅ and NGO₈ are all of international identity, they are entailed on different cultures and religious backgrounds (as will be further detailed in 6.4.3.1). As observed, the organisational effectiveness of these five international NGOs is not just affected by cultural and religious differences but also shaped by their different managerial leaderships. What lies at the centre of the characteristics of the leadership here are the personalities and managerial knowledge of expatriate workers and their understanding, relationships and involvement in local communities. On the other, the actual localising processes of the local NGOs (except for local NGO₉) in the case study could be compared and put in order (from the more localised and self-reliant to the less): NGO₇, NGO₆ and NGO₃. Their various degrees of localisation by and large reflect how long these three have been formally transferred to the local identity and registration, and the extent to which they are autonomous in relation to their international SOs.

6.4 Managerial Constituents at VE Service Level

The position and relative importance of VE service within an overall NGO organisational structure, as perceived in 6.3, vary from one NGO to another and in turn lead to distinct management styles among the 9 NGO VE services. In this section, 6.4, the discussion of management will be described by following the actual executive path through NGO VE intervention: from selecting students (6.4.1) at the outset to linking graduate students with employment (6.4.2) at the end, while mobilising and gathering resources necessary for the support of students (6.4.3) during the whole process of VE intervention.

Through the application of NVivo (as expounded in 5.4.3), seven managerial components discussed in 6.4.3 are most frequently recognised by service providers as being central to the effectiveness of VE services in the case study. Nonetheless, a gap is also found between the key ideas they think to be central, and the practices they are capable or adequately resourced to make. In spite of their similar initiatives to target vulnerable and poor young people, the VE service providers' managerial ideas need to reconcile different NGO organisational structures (e.g. the lower importance of VE service in NGO₂, and the ambiguous position of VE service in NGO₉), with different organisational cultures (e.g. Japanese culture in NGO₅, and the evangelical tradition in NGO₈), and with the resources available (e.g. the lack of human and technical resources in VE services at NGO₄ and NGO₆ respectively).

Some cases, as exemplified in the above parentheses, fail to link their service beneficiaries with the desirable result of good employment rates. In other cases, the vision and objectives of VE services are harder to achieve, especially where they need be reconciled with the different socio-economic backgrounds of the students,

and with different urban labour demands to which the management at the VE service (micro) level tends to respond. In this section, I therefore shall concentrate on exploring and analysing the findings concerning management at the nine NGO VE services, in the hope of directly answering Research Question 2 (management of selection and employment of NGO VE services) and Research Question 3 (managerial issues on resource mobilisation and relationship building).

6.4.1 Unspoken Agenda on Student Selection

Poverty has direct implication to the Cambodian youth's vulnerability. As defined and operationalised in 2.2, the economic aspect of vulnerable young people in Cambodia refers to unemployment (i.e. with no work) and mostly, under-employment (i.e. doing some survival work while living below the national poverty line). All NGO VE services in the case study claim to select young people who are poor and out-of-reach. Nonetheless, behind the selection criteria that is explicitly articulated in their policy documents the real action that NGOs take to select students might not be consistent with what they claim to do. I found that each VE service has its own unspoken agenda on student selection. This agenda is grounded on the dispute of how to select (clearly fixed vs. flexible procedure) and who are selected (the potential vs. the poorer) in order to break the socio-economic disparity in the locality. For instance, should the young Cambodians with potential (normally from better family backgrounds) rather than the poorer ones be involved in the VE service, to save the cost to the service, and to learn to take more social responsibility for those worse off than themselves? Should poorer students be selected, so as to create more educational opportunities? Should both be placed in the same educational environment, so as to learn how to live together?

The concepts of ‘the poor’ and ‘those with potential’ are not mutually exclusive; accordingly, NGOs’ pro-poor stance in student selection rather means that their selection prioritises poor people who might (or might not) be gifted. By contrast, NGOs’ pro-potential stance in student selection shows their preference for those with potential who, however, might (or might not) be poor. As seen in Table 6.2, while a clear, transparent and fixed procedure encourages students’ self-selection and equal opportunities, it seems to benefit more those with ‘potential’ who have had a better education (e.g. NGO₁ and NGO₇). In comparison, a flexible selection mechanism might also tend to move away from the pro-poor stance if it excludes students’ voices at the beginning (e.g. NGO₃ and NGO₅). Furthermore, the pro-poor stance is further undermined by the finite supply of resources at the selection stage (e.g. NGO₄) or in the later educational stages (e.g. NGO₂, which lacks resources to support those at risk of dropping out).

Table 6.2: The comparison between student selection policy and the unspoken agenda of 9 NGO VE services

9 Cases	Selection Policy	Unspoken Agenda
NGO ₁	Fixed and clear selection procedure. Pro-poor stance. The selection criteria are clearly set for girls (1) who come from poor families; (2) those aged between 17 and 24; (3) who pass the admission test (English, Khmer and mathematics); (4) who are interviewed, along with parents, by NGO ₁ for family background checking.	Prefer ‘the potential’ to ‘the poorer’: entrance is competitive. About 60 out of 300 applicants are able to study at NGO ₁ . A relatively high entrance threshold excludes those poorer students with lower educational levels. (About one quarter of these students are from wealthier families, and are charged tuition fees; few are even studying at university at the same time.)
NGO ₂	Pro-poor stance. Students are from poor families, aged between 15 and 19 and graduated at least from Grade 6.	Prefer ‘the potential’ to ‘the poorer’: a high drop-out rate indicates that the poorer are not able to learn but need to work. Staff preferences: selection prioritizes graduate students of the NGO ₂ literacy centre.

NGO ₃	The poor, street youth are prioritised. No minimum education level is required.	Prefer ‘the motivated’ to ‘the poorer’: students are those who are motivated to get free from poverty and street life. Students’ voice in skill distribution: students cannot decide which technical skill they will learn at the outset.
NGO ₄	Fixed and clear selection procedure. Pro-poor stance. Girls are (1) from poor families, (2) aged between 16 and 24, (3) with educational level under Grade 6.	Lack of out-reach staff (human resource): the girls are contacted and selected by only 1 staff member.
NGO ₅	Pro-poor stance.	Students’ voice: This is the final place to house the young people from NGO ₅ ’s community projects. Selection is negotiated between their parents and NGO staff. Young people might not be motivated to learn.
NGO ₆	Pro-poor stance.	Staff preferences: selection prioritises those from NGO ₆ ’s permanent centres.
NGO ₇	Fixed and clear selection procedure. Pro-poor stance. Clear selection criteria for students (1) from poor families, (2) passing through entrance examination, (3) aged between 16 and 22.	The potential over the poorer: the entrance is competitive (50 out of 300 applicants). 70% of new students are selected from those graduated from Grade 12.
NGO ₈	Pro-poor stance: the lower tuition fee is affordable to those poor.	The potential over the poorer: the cost prevents the poorer and those living at a distance.
NGO ₉	For poor, needy people within communities.	Staff preferences: selection is ambiguous and subject to NGO staff members’ judgment and relationship.

6.4.2 Missing Link with Employment

As observed, only four (NGO₁, NGO₃ and NGO₇ in Phnom Penh, and NGO₄ in Battambang) out of all the nine NGO VE services have at least three quarters of their graduate students in employment. At first sight the employment rate is found irrelevant to the explicit selection policies of the VE services, but corresponds to

their unspoken agendas. In brief, the more emphasis is placed on the students with potential the higher employment rates are found, such as NGO₁ (90% on average) and NGO₇ (78% on average). In contrast, although NGO₈ in Battambang and NGO₂ in Poipet sort out those students with potential at the selection and educational stages, both however produce low employment rates. This is, in part, because NGO₈ and NGO₂ are entirely short of managerial mechanisms to lead their graduates into their first jobs. No resources are allocated to that, nor are any institutional relationships built to link graduates with employment. To an extent this is because the macro-economic environments in Battambang and Poipet are far less prosperous than that existing in Phnom Penh.

Table 6.3: External and internal determinants of linking with employment

	Unspoken Agenda of Selection Policy	Internal Determinant* (in 9 VE services)	External Determinant** (in 4 urban areas)	Employment Rate***
NGO ₁	‘Pro-potential’	Good	Prosperous	High
NGO ₂	‘Pro-potential’	Poor	Poor	Low
NGO ₃	Non ‘pro-potential’	Good	Prosperous	High
NGO ₄	Non ‘pro-potential’	Good	Medium	High
NGO ₅	Non ‘pro-potential’	Poor	Prosperous	Low
NGO ₆	Non ‘pro-potential’	Poor	Poor	Low
NGO ₇	‘Pro-potential’	Poor	Prosperous	High
NGO ₈	‘Pro-potential’	Poor	Medium	Low
NGO ₉	Non ‘pro-potential’	Poor	Poor	Low

* ‘Good’ if managerial efforts are made (and in particular, resources mobilised and institutional relationships built) for graduates’ employment; ‘Poor’ if not.

** For comparison, the economy in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap is ranked as ‘Prosperous’, Battambang as ‘Medium’, and Poipet as ‘Poor’.

*** ‘High’ is an employment rate of 75% and above. ‘Low’ is an employment rate of 25% or below.

Generally speaking, these managerial mechanisms (especially dealing with resources and relationships) in different NGO VE services are seen as an internal

determinant of successful employment, while the economic prosperity in different urban areas is considered an external determinant. As seen in Table 6.3, the interwoven effect of external and internal factors upon the employment rates is apparent. Regardless of the unspoken agenda, NGO₁, NGO₃ and NGO₄ show that the combination of favourable economic environments and good managerial efforts lead to the greater likelihood of successful employment. On the other hand, NGO₅ and NGO₇ are both situated in prosperous economic urban areas, but show different employment results. The poor managerial linkage at NGO₇ is offset by its ‘pro-potential’ unspoken agenda, whilst the low employment rate from NGO₅ is perpetuated by its unspoken agenda concerning student selection at the outset and poor managerial linkage at the end. For instance, only 3 out of 29 apprentices at the NGO₅ training restaurant had been introduced to their first jobs at Japanese-owned restaurants in Siem Reap. NGO₅, as the Japanese INGO in Siem Reap, seems less capable of building institutional relations with restaurant owners there. These owners are of other nationalities, including Chinese, Korean and Cambodian.

In many cases, the VE services might become a disguise for comfort if a student’s livelihood is not improved after graduation. The low employment rate found in NGO₂, NGO₅, NGO₆, NGO₈ and NGO₉ particularly points out the phenomenon of missing managerial linkage with graduate students’ employment in those NGO VE services. Simultaneously, it evokes the managerial role of NGO service providers in building up necessary institutional relations with the private sector and other development partners, so as to mobilise resources and help young people to overcome the barriers to employment. Reflecting upon both ‘unspoken agenda on selection (6.4.1)’ and ‘missing link with employment (6.4.2)’, further investigation will explore the effective management of resources and relationships at the NGO VE

service level. Accordingly, what might constitute the effective management of VE services will be presented and discussed in the next section.

6.4.3 Resources and Relationships

The empirical evidence in this section shows that managerial deficits might result from resource deficiency, and vice versa. In the wake of an unstable resource supply, the active and successful management of internal and external relationships at a NGO VE service will however help to mobilize resources, and simultaneously reduce the cost of redundancy. Three levels of relationships are found in the case studies: first, ‘shared vision’, based on internal, individual relationship building; secondly, ‘joint projects’, as the internal, intra-organizational relationships are appropriately managed; and thirdly, ‘coordinating strategies’, grounded in the establishment of external, inter-organizational relationships. As further explored and specified below, seven concepts (1) to (7) under three levels emerge from the data (through NVivo application) and appear to be the key managerial constituents of effectiveness at NGO VE (micro) service level.

6.4.3.1 Shared Vision

(1) Communication

‘The main challenge for me is communication with the (local) teachers. I think it is a language problem. ...culture and language. They are quiet. Cambodians are very quiet people’ (as said by L09, the expatriate technical advisor at NGO₃ who had been working in Cambodia for six years.)

Aside from the challenge of L09, many leading managers at the NGOs in the case

studies also ascribe their managerial problems and resource wastage to the poor communication within their NGOs. For fear of confronting internal reluctance and causing disagreement, L11 in NGO₅ and L17 in NGO₉ said that they needed constantly to ‘sell ideas’ to their frontline staff on the one hand, and to their headquarters (in the case of an international NGO, such as NGO₅) or international support organisation (in the case of a local NGO, such as NGO₉) on the other.

Two spheres of staff communication are thus identified: one is ‘**communication among frontline staff**’, where the exchange and sharing of the information and project needs to take place on a daily basis. The other is ‘**communication between Field Offices (FO) and their headquarters (HQ)/ international support organisations (SO)**’. From the viewpoint of frontline staff, given the shorter communicative distance between FO and HQ/SO more resources would be secured and channelled from HQ/SO to the FO (e.g. the relevant resource stability of NGO₃), and more trust and responsibility given to the FO to make decisions (e.g. the autonomy of NGO₁ and NGO₂). More problems faced in the field would be solved with less wasted time and cost (e.g. making expensive overseas phone calls to HQ or waiting for email replies, in the case of NGO₅). As seen in Table 6.4 the communicative distance is compared between INGOs and local NGOs, and between NGOs immersed in different religious and cultural backgrounds. In terms of the four local NGOs, it may be observed that the presence of long-term expatriate staff from SO working in a collective manner with FO might shorten the communicative distance. NGO₃ and NGO₆ respectively have the presence of full-time and part-time expatriate workers, while NGO₇ and NGO₉ have no expatriate workers present on a daily basis. Regarding the five international NGOs in Table 6.4, tension is found between the FO and HQ of NGO₈, as stronger leadership in the FO prefers to adopt

a different approach (i.e. English/computer teaching) and different target groups (i.e. young people rather than women and children) for evangelism. By comparison, the FO of NGO₅ is headed and staffed by Cambodian nationals with only the help of short-term Japanese volunteers. A top-down process, from its overseas HQ, for making decisions was described by local administrative staff.

Table 6.4: The comparison of communicative distance between FO and HQ/SO

	Registered as:	Religions	Cultural Backgrounds*	Distance
NGO ₁	INGO	Catholic	Philippine, Vietnamese, Indian	Shorter
NGO ₂	INGO	Catholic	Italian, Colombian, Philippine	Shorter
NGO ₃	Local NGO	Secular	USA, French, German, and Swiss	Shorter
NGO ₄	INGO	Catholic	Dutch, Philippine and Vietnamese	Shorter
NGO ₅	INGO	Secular	Japanese	Longer
NGO ₆	Local NGO	Secular	Swiss and German	Shorter
NGO ₇	Local NGO	Secular	Japanese	Longer
NGO ₈	INGO	Christian	Philippine	Longer
NGO ₉	Local NGO	Christian	British	Longer

* Refer to the cultural backgrounds of (1) SO of 4 local NGOs; (2) HQ of 1 secular INGO; and (3) FO leadership of 4 religious INGOs. (4 religious INGOs are sent separately by two international Catholic and Christian orders.)

Apart from the relationships between FO and HQ/SO, the analysis of communications among frontline staff in the 9 NGO VE services (as in Table 6.5) gives some idea about how individual relationships could be developed, how internal agreement might be effectively reached, and how resources might be accordingly entrusted and shared among FO staff. Nonetheless, some NGOs in Table 6.5 show the problems that exist. Unlike the private business sector which enjoys clear goals and a common interest in making profits, it is found that many Cambodian staff are attracted to work in NGOs by higher salaries rather than being moved by any humanitarian purpose (staff management is thus challenging in

NGO₅), or by any specific vision of NGOs (e.g. the disagreement between religious and non-religious staff in NGO₉). It therefore becomes managers’ priority to motivate and challenge staff engagement through friendly communications and negotiation.

Table 6.5: The comparison of frontline staff communication inside 9 NGO VE services

	Communication among frontline staff
NGO ₁ NGO ₂ NGO ₄	<p>Informal and ‘soft’ discussion: e.g. all FO leading managers chat and exchange ideas about individual students and NGO managerial issues at lunch time each day.</p> <p>Linguistic strength: all the foreign leading managers could speak fluent Khmer.</p> <p>Geographic advantage: the offices of 3 leading managers, local administrative staff and teaching staff are adjacent to one another. Frequent communication among these three was observed.</p> <p>Change of Leadership: all leading managers obedient to their HQ could only stay in an FO for three years, or/and extend their stay for another three years.</p>
NGO ₃	<p>Misunderstandings due to language and culture: expatriate technical advisors are present daily, but misunderstandings might be created by language and cultural differences.</p>
NGO ₅	<p>Daily staff meeting: staff meetings are conducted every evening. The staff management is challenging (acknowledged by L11). The ‘heart’ rather than ability of frontline staff is more appreciated, as many staff come to work for higher salary and not from humanitarian motives.</p>
NGO ₆	<p>The ethos of cooperation: initiated by its Swiss international support organisation (SO), the managerial structure is designed as: 5 local coordinators who are equally in charge, instead of one president with higher status. The organisational culture of communication and collective commitment has been promoted from the outset.</p>
NGO ₇	<p>Cambodian-culture dominance: SO has less impact, but a straightforward hierarchy between Cambodian leading managers and Cambodian administrative/teaching staff in decision making was observed.</p>
NGO ₈	<p>Strong leadership and common interest among staff: strong leadership focuses on evangelism. Leading managers (= Christian ministers) select local teaching and administrative staff only from their Christian ‘disciples’, in order to ensure a common interest (evangelism) among staff and harmonious relationships between them.</p> <p>Linguistic strength: foreign leading managers could speak and read Khmer.</p>
NGO ₉	<p>Staff devotion (partially): Christian staff attend religious devotions every morning at the NGO₉ office, where information, support and project requirements are informally shared.</p>

	Nevertheless, not all staff are Christian and attend; thus internal communication cannot only be made on the occasion of devotion.
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(2) Information Circulation

Harmonious relationships and active communication among NGO staff reinforce the students’ ‘feeling of safety’, and in turn, encourage students’ ‘bravery to talk’, to voice, and to communicate with NGO staff, as experienced by T07 (who graduated from NGO₁ in 2004 and was then introduced by NGO₁ to teach at NGO₂). As at T07, other graduate students of NGO₁ are consulted and provided with work and study information in various ways. By building up institutional linkages with about 60 other NGOs, private companies and schools in Phnom Penh, NGO₁ collects and circulates information on job opportunities to students. Information is actively disseminated to current students by means of an open notice board, for instance. By so doing, students are motivated to make informed decisions about their futures. Special courses are organised for students to learn how and where to access information independently, and how to prepare for job interviews along with CV preparation. Graduate students are also welcomed back at NGO₁ on the last Sunday morning of each month, when information is gathered, exchanged, and circulated. Furthermore an alumni office was under preparation in 2007, in the hope of following-up graduates and linking them with potential employers.

As well as NGO₁, the other 8 NGO VE services all realise the importance of disseminating information. That notwithstanding, some NGOs are still in their infancy, and thus have less understanding of relationships in their locality (e.g. NGO₂, NGO₄). Some service providers restrict the information circulated to students to aid the most effective allocation of limited job opportunities (e.g. NGO₃, NGO₅).

Some NGOs claim not to have enough resources to research the demands of the market, nor to collect employment information (e.g., NGO₇, NGO₈). Three NGOs in Poipet (e.g. NGO₂, NGO₆ and NGO₉) provide only little information to students, because for them ‘the local market (i.e. job vacancies) in Poipet is just simply not big enough!’ (stated by L18 in NGO₉ during the interview in 2006).

6.4.3.2 Joint Projects

(3) Commercial Practices

In the urban area where economic activities are less thriving (like Poipet) NGOs either create jobs for VE graduate students, or encourage their self-employment by providing micro finance. However, the graduate students’ self-employment found in NGO₆ and NGO₉ in Poipet is not as successful as their insertion into the world of paid employment. This is because firstly, Poipet is located on the Thai-Cambodian border. It is a migrant town, with people from other parts of the country moving in and out. NGOs thus find it difficult to follow up their loan borrowers. Secondly, without the resources (both personnel and knowledge) to mentor and monitor their students’ self-employment, the two NGOs report poor repayment rates. A08 in NGO₆ describes the failure of their credit scheme as ‘loan collapse’ and a ‘disaster’. Thirdly, NGOs may stumble when making collaborative or reciprocal relationships with local enterprise networks. As observed, many individuals in Poipet are self-employed in the sewing sector and make garments (paid piecework) for Cambodian wholesalers who have networks with Thai businessmen. This network is exclusive, and for preference accepts only newcomers with whom the wholesalers have familial or social relationships.

In contrast NGOs’ innovation in job creation, as mentioned earlier, is relatively

successful and provided by the NGOs having their own business. These are called ‘not-for-profit’ but not ‘non-profit’ activities. As shown in Table 6.6 some NGOs have established their own enterprises in Cambodia, for at least two purposes:

Purpose 1: Provision of current students’ on-the-job training (e.g. NGO₃,

NGO₅, NGO₆, NGO₇ and NGO₉): students learn by working in a real business environment; they obtain a small income, to motivate learning and deter them from dropping-out (except for NGO₇). They improve their future competitiveness by accumulating commercial experience.

Purpose 2: Creation of job opportunities for graduate students (e.g. NGO₄,

NGO₇ and NGO₉): especially in an area where job demand is greater than supply, graduates can earn a living and their livelihood be improved. NGO₉ in Poipet has a contract with a carpet company in Bangkok (Thailand) and meets the outsourcing needs of that company. NGO₉ VE service beneficiaries produce carpets to earn some income. NGO₄ in Battambang has set up a small handicraft workshop as product supplier for a Singaporean company. Although it is arguable that both of these NGOs are too dependent on overseas markets, in terms of the supply of raw materials and the sale of products, NGO₉ however argues that ‘by showing Cambodian efforts out, we are able to bring more international business opportunities in.’

By contrast NGO₇, which along with NGO₃ is located in Phnom Penh where economic activities are relatively flourishing, share the same ‘anti-dependency’ stance. These VE graduates are not allowed to have their first jobs at the NGO₇ workshop and NGO₃ restaurant, for fear that their independence will be diminished. Instead, NGO₃ has established links with

other NGOs and private businesses in the district. By making use of these connections, graduate students start their first paid employment away from the familiar and protective circumstances of their NGO.

Table 6.6: NGOs’ own business and their institutional linkages for VE students’ on-the-job training or/and introduction to first jobs

Purposes	Providing on-the-job training (before graduation)		Introduction to first jobs (after graduation)	
NGOs’ response	Own Business	Institutional Linkages	Own Business	Institutional Linkages
NGO ₁	X	✓	X	✓
NGO ₂	X	✓ (sewing only)	X	X
NGO ₃	✓ (restaurant)	X	X	✓
NGO ₄	X	X	✓ (handicraft workshop)	✓
NGO ₅	✓ (restaurant)	X	X	✓
NGO ₆	✓ (water purifier)	X	X	X
NGO ₇	✓ (car repair)	X	✓ (one-year stay only)	X
NGO ₈	X	X	X	X
NGO ₉	✓ (restaurant)	X	✓ (carpet)	✓

Note: In these cases of improving students’ commercial experience, the symbol ✓ indicates that NGOs have developed either of the responses to either of the purposes, while a X indicates that NGOs lack the specific response to the specific purpose. For example, NGO₁ has made linkages with other institutions for both purposes; in providing on-the-job training and in introducing the graduates to their first jobs. NGO₂ has institutional linkages for providing on-the-job training too; however, the linkages are only available to its sewing students and not for its other students (e.g. the students in the automotive and hospitality classes in NGO₂).

Table 6.6 shows how the majority of the NGO VE services create their own enterprises for ‘training’ purposes, while preferring to link their graduates’ first jobs to the outside world. In fact, ‘training’ is seen as the primary goal of these NGOs’ own business activities, while ‘organizational sustainability’ (or literally, income generation for NGO) is considered as secondary by many VE providers. Nevertheless, the second is sometimes found first. A sense of resource insecurity

permeates both international and local NGOs. As L09 in the training restaurant of NGO₃ described it,

‘it’s very very difficult to make balance. Like this morning, I heard the complaint again that we do not provide enough teacher training. ...But now we need a lot of money to secure our property. Usually training takes place at the cost of closing the restaurant, even though we know the main thing is training and the second is business...’

Aside from dealing with unexpected challenges in the locality (e.g. property and rental issues for NGO₃, NGO₅ and NGO₉), many leading managers acknowledge the need to pay great attention to their secondary stakeholders, such as their overseers at HQ or donors at SO, at the cost of diverting their patience and energy away from their primary stakeholders, the service beneficiaries. The priority in this seems rather given to maintaining organizational sustainability (or survival) than the beneficiaries’ sustainable livelihood.

(4) Complementary Activities

The VE service is described by L08 in NGO₃ as ‘a key factor’ and ‘a final stop’ within NGOs’ overall design and structure for reintegrating vulnerable young people back into society. The activities complementary to and supporting the VE service within a NGO could be divided into two types: one is tangible, such as welfare services; and the other intangible, for example structural changes.

As seen in Table 6.7, the VE service develops intra-organizational linkages and cooperation with welfare services in order to counteract those factors that draw

students away from their classes. Thus, a boarding house (e.g. NGO₁, NGO₄), and medical care (e.g. NGO₃, NGO₆) are provided for those students who are poorer and live at a distance. In some cases a community-level network embracing a comprehensive community plan has been established (e.g. NGO₅, NGO₉), offering income generation for underemployed parents and day care for younger siblings. A joint and supportive working network is more likely to reach detached young people, and should seek to take care of their additional needs.

Table 6.7: Joint projects of VE services and complementary activities in 9 NGOs

	VE service		Complementary Activities	
	Central mission*	Final Stop**	For Welfare Services	For Structural Changes
NGO ₁	Yes	Yes	One-to-one sponsorship; boarding house; volunteers (teaching staff)	No
NGO ₂	No	Yes	Voluntary professionals; literacy centre.	Workshops for educating other NGOs
NGO ₃	No	Yes	Boarding house; literacy centre; in-centre social worker team, medical care etc.	Research into social issues in the country
NGO ₄	Yes	Yes	Literacy class; boarding house; one-to-one sponsorship; voluntary nurse support.	No
NGO ₅	No	Yes	Development of new villages	No
NGO ₆	No	Yes	Medical service; boarding house	No
NGO ₇	Yes	Yes	Boarding house	No
NGO ₈	No	No	Gospel teaching and church establishment.	No
NGO ₉	No	No	Community development (including agricultural support, construction and support of primary schools, well-drilling, encouraging local churches etc.)	A resource centre shared with NGOs; social awareness of child trafficking and HIV/AIDS education

* The **importance** of VE service in NGO overall design and structure.

** The **position** of VE service in NGO overall design and structure.

I found that the degree to which resources may be appropriately used and effectively nurture the VE service is very much dependent upon the degree to which a solid intra-organizational relationship (i.e. project connections and inter-dependency) could be designed within a NGO. Otherwise, resource wastage is found: in NGO₉ for instance, many projects exist in their own right and might be piecemeal. What matters to the resources allocated to VE services is the importance and position of the VE service within the overall organizational structure of the NGO. When other projects support and revolve around a VE service (such as NGO₁, NGO₄ and NGO₇) rather than the other way around, the students' performance or feedback is observed to be encouragingly high. However, when the importance and position of VE services are only vaguely defined and designed with too much flexibility (such as NGO₈ and NGO₉), resource shortages are found in the VE services and this troubles their leading managers.

Only three of the case studies shown in Table 6.7 are devoted to intangible efforts for 'structural change'. In an environment suffering from corruption (experienced by many service providers in the case studies) and administrative barriers to employment, NGOs' lobbying through the national NGO Forum or regional networks of NGOs operating in different provinces may be largely ineffective. To what extent could NGOs in Cambodia scale-up their efforts in this direction, to create a long-term impact? As far as the nine case studies are concerned, the direct influence of the NGOs themselves might be limited. However, their capacity and potential to educate young people to become able and responsible is undeniable. Structural changes may indeed be effected by more of these service beneficiaries, as the result of good pedagogic ideas and practices that will be analyzed in Chapter 7.

6.4.3.3 Coordinating Strategies

Aside from internal cooperation, external relationships faced and managed in implementing joint projects (i.e. both commercial practices and complementary activities) are found to play an important role in NGO VE service provision. Two basic factors are important for building and coordinating external relationships; one is to increase resources, and the other is to overcome the barriers to NGO VE service provision. Regarding the first of these, a series of managerial issues concerning resource allocation were raised by the service providers. They usually question: what resources do they lack? Who has those resources? When and how could they get access to the resources? For example, NGO₄ identified its need for human resources to teach handicrafts and to undertake a market survey. Having recognising this, L10 in NGO₄ circulated a request by email to the fellowship operating under the same religious order and to her personal network of contacts, locally and globally. NGO₆ plans to develop an ice production business based on the existing water purification plant, as long as they can find the technical resources and financial support. On the other hand, there are many external barriers to students' employment. As described by the service beneficiaries (i.e. VE students) of NGO₁ and NGO₂, the external barriers that they already identified or faced include:

- **Economic ones** (e.g. after graduation, the high cost of living when working in Phnom Penh; the cost of re-investing in further education or to start a small business).
- **Educational barriers** (graduates without work experience are difficult to place in employment. Both educational certificates and work experience are increasingly demanded by employers in Cambodia).
- **Socio-cultural barriers** (enterprise networks are exclusive to localities. Job information is often accessible only to those who have social relationships

with business insiders).

- **Administrative barriers** (e.g. worsening corruption and bribery).
- **Psychological barriers** (graduates from poor families sense and suffer from discrimination, either during job interviews or at work. Poverty is seen as a ‘stigma’ by other colleagues at work and makes graduates feel less confident at work).

How may the service beneficiaries be helped to overcome the barriers described above? In an ideal world, a focal organization should share a harmonious and cooperative attitude with its development partners; yet in practice, different stakeholders operating with inconsistent interests and distinct priorities will not make such attitudes likely or even feasible. As observed, three specific strategies (namely, collaborating, defending and monitoring) have been charted by NGO service providers in response to different external relationships, yet these three might not answer all the external difficulties that have been recognised so far.

(5) Collaborating Strategy

As described in Table 6.8, the collaborative strategy is particularly intended to evoke support and mobilise resources from ‘semi-supportive’ development partners. These might be the central Cambodian government, community leaders, other NGOs, aid agencies and the private business sector. Inter-organizational support and reciprocity are found to contribute to resource diversification (e.g. NGO₂, NGO₅, NGO₆ and NGO₈), and simultaneously offset a certain degree of human and material resource dependency.

Table 6.8: Collaborating strategy to semi-supportive relationship

	Examples of Collaborating Strategies:
NGO ₁	In order to implement social work in a community, L03 collaborates by compromising with the community leader who likes to take financial advantage of NGO ₁ activities.
NGO ₂	A01 collected teaching-learning materials and ideas from other NGOs’ staff, in order to design a new VE course ‘Social Communication’.
NGO ₃	Offers capacity building workshops to governmental officers, as part of reciprocity with the central government.
NGO ₄	In order to send NGO ₄ service beneficiaries to study at public schools, L10 compromises with public school teachers who charge an unofficial fee.
NGO ₅	Personal network (e.g. friends and siblings) of L11 is brought into the overall NGO voluntary system.
NGO ₆	Sends NGO ₆ service beneficiaries to the member organisations of a NGO network called ‘COSECAM’ or NGOs in Poipet for further study.
NGO ₇	N/A
NGO ₈	Based in Battambang, NGO ₈ builds up partnership with a local NGO in Poipet so as to (1) share local personnel and venues, and (2) found churches in Poipet.
NGO ₉	Receives support from community leaders by providing them with training workshops (i.e. knowledge) and an allowance.

(6) Defending Strategy

Next is the defensive strategy, aiming to tackle those stakeholders who have potential to threaten the organization, or to combat any non-supportive relationship that exists with corrupt government officers, the police and sometimes, local authorities and hostile communities. For instance, in order to help self-employed graduates to negotiate with local authorities or resist corruption and bribery among the local police, NGO₃ used to involve other NGOs or cooperate directly with central government to defend their local authorities, as shown in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: Defensive strategy against non-supportive relationships

	Examples of Defensive Strategy:
NGO ₂	Against local educational officers in the process of opening a new school. Involved the ministerial department of the central government to participate at the school establishment, in order to obviate local power over the school's management.
NGO ₃	Against local police for some cases of self-employment, by involving other NGOs or cooperating directly with central government.
NGO ₅	Against local police taking bribes from a project for establishment and development in a village. L11 negotiated with local police and 'threatened' that NGO ₅ could be phased out.
NGO ₆	Against parents or relatives (hostile community) who would like to take back the children from NGO ₆ and would be likely to 're-rent' the children to Thailand.

(7) Monitoring Strategy

The final strategy is monitoring, intended to detect economic, social, and educational opportunities and threats in the national context, to research new demands in the labour market, to follow up graduate students and in turn, to inform the future design of NGO VE services. As seen in Table 6.10, whilst all the case studies emphasize the importance of monitoring they do in fact allocate only limited resources to monitoring activities.

Table 6.10: Monitoring opportunities and threats in the national context

	Examples of Monitoring Strategy:
NGO ₁	Occasional monitoring: in order to monitor graduates' economic activities and market needs, NGO ₁ relies on the commitment of short-term volunteers. These are not always available. Regular meetings: in addition, leading managers normally get information from either partner institutions or from graduate students at their monthly meetings.
NGO ₂	Monitoring on a one-off basis: while setting up its vocational training centre, a one-off market survey was conducted by volunteers. There were no more follow-up activities, as NGO ₂ explained that it was difficult to find suitable manpower in the migrant border town of Poipet.
NGO ₃	Continual research and regular follow-up: researches are continually conducted into the national context by its SO. As an example, based on such research a new course, 'laundry', has been designed and begun.

	<p>A group of NGO₃ personnel has been appointed to regularly follow up graduates.</p> <p>SO operating in partnership with other INGOs and independent researchers monitors NGO₃ graduates.</p>
NGO ₄	<p>Occasional monitoring: the leading manager irregularly visits graduate students, and seeks more volunteers to become involved.</p>
NGO ₅	<p>Occasional monitoring: three graduates are visited at random.</p>
NGO ₆	<p>Occasional monitoring: only occasional researches into the economic environment of Poipet were done by SO.</p>
NGO ₇	<p>Occasional monitoring: only occasional follow-up surveys on graduate students were done by SO.</p>
NGO ₈	<p>Occasional monitoring: students are contacted and followed up informally in churches.</p>
NGO ₉	<p>Regular monitoring: A10 is in charge of monitoring the mobile class. According to his follow-up, the number of mobile classes increased from 23 to 52 at the end of 2006.</p>

Chapter 7 Exploring Pedagogic Findings

As indicated earlier in 6.1, this chapter aims to articulate the core elements of pedagogy that are found important to promote students' learning in the 9 NGO VE services. The pedagogic findings emerging from the empirical data (through NVivo application in 5.4.3) will be presented by way of responding directly to Research Question 4 (about the VE pedagogy), Research Question 5 (about empowerment definition), and Question 6 (about the resulting empowerment issues). I shall begin with the presentation, definitions and exemplification of six very important, emerging pedagogic components in the case studies in 7.1. Attention will in due course be drawn to 7.2, where reflection and resolutions concerning empowerment issues will receive consideration.

7.1 Pedagogic Constituents at VE Service Level

What skills and knowledge are crucial to the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people? Before the concept of empowerment is analysed and clarified in 7.2, how could the vulnerable be led to enjoy a better learning performance here, and 'to be excellent' (as expected by L04 in NGO₂) and competitive with other privileged youngsters from more affluent families? Although better learning performance by no mean guarantees a desirable career in the future, the latter is unlikely to be secured and sustained for long without the former. Students with good learning performance are expected to have more skill and confidence to figure out alternatives, seek possibilities and seize opportunities when they arise. For those vulnerable young people who must surmount higher socio-economic barriers in the country, L02 elaborated that

‘at the beginning our graduate students might receive a lower salary than other young people graduating from universities, but our students’ long-term good performance will help to prove themselves and increase their salary.’ (Quoted from interview transcript with L02 in NGO₁, 23 March 2007)

To most service beneficiaries whom I interviewed, learning in the past was neither relevant (i.e. education activities are not job-oriented) nor meaningful (i.e. education activities could not motivate students). It was as if the poor deserved a poorer and even a second-class educational service. The following quotations may exemplify the different feelings and experiences concerning past learning at public schools and current study at NGO₁.

The experience of relevant VE service that provides job-oriented education:

‘My learning experience in NGO is different from (public) schools, because at school (I) had many subjects to study, but NGO wants us to have skills and ... could find jobs.’ (Quoted from interview transcript with S03, 15 March 2006)

The experience of meaningful VE service that motivates students:

‘(In) other school(s), I feel (I) don’t (didn’t) study hard ..., because teachers sometimes come (came) to teach; sometimes no (did not).’ (Quoted from interview transcript with S56, 21 March 2006)

‘Before I study (studied) outside, the teachers and the students don’t (didn’t) have relationships, but when I study here (=NGO₁), I have...I feel happy because I, my classmates, staff and teachers have good

relationship. ...the same (as) my home, warm and happiness (happy).'

(Quoted from interview transcript with S51, 21 March 2006)

Overall, students' experiences also imply that a responsible, cooperative and inclusive environment which discriminates against no-one in the process is most effective for nurturing young people's performance and personalities. Six pedagogic constituents separately embedded in three different physical learning settings have been found to create such an environment. The constituents occur along a space-time matching process, gradually moving from the informal setting (playground), to the formal setting (classroom) and then to the practical venue (workshop) helping students cross the boundary between protection from their NGO and the realities of working life.

7.1.1 Informal Setting: Playground

'Playground is the first place to meet young people immediately. It is the most important part of the school, because many young people come here with pain or bad experience. The house could be small, but the playground must be big (laughing)! ... When I go to the playground, the young people are not afraid of me. I am very close to them. I often play with them. You don't lose your authority because of this. They are human, not objects or something else. Once they open to you, you can do with the hearts all you want.' (Quoted from interview transcript with L04 in NGO₂, 1 January 2006)

(1) Relationship Development

At least two messages are directly conveyed from the above quotation. First, relationships between young people and NGO workers may develop more easily in the playground. Based upon good relationships and better trust, students are easier to teach, discipline and communicate with. Secondly, most young people coming to participate in NGO VE services have been subjected to painful and bad personal experiences; they may be survivors from street life, or trafficking. Nonetheless, the psychosocial need to restore their self-esteem and confidence, to re-establish their trust in others, and to speak for themselves, may be well provided in the playground in the first instance.

The playground refers to the outdoor areas or spaces that NGOs provide for students to relax, to take part in games, or to engage in cultural and artistic activities such as drama, dance, drawing and singing. Five out of nine case studies (i.e. NGO₁, NGO₂, NGO₃, NGO₄ and NGO₆) have some space reserved specifically for students' recreational activities. In the playground, vulnerable young people and NGO staff first meet and become familiar with each other. In all the five cases, social workers are appointed to chat and interact with young people there each day, while showing a positive, non-judgmental, accepting and open attitude towards them. By experiencing the friendly and supportive atmosphere that is deliberately made different from that existing in their families and communities, young people eventually are encouraged to move on and to grow relationships based on trust, love, openness and cooperation with NGO staff and their own young peers. As shown in Table 7.1, different but subtle educational thoughts behind playground activities may be observed between the religious NGO₂ and secular NGO₃. The boundary between NGO₂ and the community where the organization is located is open and even blurred.

Hence, young people from the surrounding communities are made welcome and feel free to come, to explore and to become aware of the NGO; they may decide to stay and learn, or simply leave. In contrast, NGO₃ strictly maintains its position of offering a safe and secure managed environment, protecting students from outside dangers and any foreign dominant culture. For this reason, foreign workers are forbidden to interact with students. The students are selected and motivated by the out-reach team, consisting of Cambodian staff, to come and learn at NGO₃. The boundaries of its playground are clear, and it is for current students’ exclusive use.

Table 7.1: Comparison of playgrounds between religious NGO₂ and secular NGO₃

	<i>Religious NGO₂</i>	<i>Secular NGO₃</i>
Boundary across NGO and communities	Openness; vague delimitation	Closure; clear delimitation
Participants	Youths from communities and current students	Current students only
Contact between foreign staff and students	Encouraged	Forbidden (except for visiting donors)
Contact between local staff and students	Encouraged	Encouraged

When a good relationship has been generated in the playground, both teaching activities and students’ learning performance are found to benefit from it. From the service providers’ viewpoint, there is a good match between teaching and relationship. For example, discipline needs be built upon common agreements reached between teachers and young students because ‘young people have so many prides’ (as said by A01 in NGO₂, 9 January 2006). Such agreements will be more effective if a good teacher-student relationship exists. Further, grounded on the good relationship, the positive effects of ‘reasoning’ and ‘counselling’ emphasised by L01

in NGO₁ and L13 in NGO₆ upon their teaching process would be much enhanced. Again, there is a good match between learning and relationship. Students' see a trustful, supportive and open relationship with their teachers and peers as the most important factor enabling and sustaining their learning. Some examples of their opinions are given below:

'The very thing that makes me feel to learn faster is friendship, love, good relationship with classmates and teachers.' (Quoted from interview transcript with S52, 21 March 2006)

'When I studied at the high school I'm a lazy student but now I'm trying to study. It makes me easier and better because sisters and teachers support, encourage me when I have problems.' (Quoted from interview transcript with S44, 17 March 2006)

(2) Rehabilitation

Building upon the establishment of a trusting relationship, the playground also contributes directly to the rehabilitation of each young person; it provides a starting point in the overall plan to develop both character and personality. In this very real sense, vocational education (VE) represents a healing process. As L10 in NGO₄ described it,

'...sewing doesn't need to take two years to learn. We design the two-year course because it takes time to heal their hearts, to let them learn how to play, how to trust, and how to express for themselves.' (Quoted from the interview with L10 on 27 February 2006)

Similarly, L08 in NGO₃ also regarded vocational education as a healing tool, and explained that in the interview on 26 January 2007,

‘people who come to us have, not psychologically disordered but they are psychologically tortured by others, and suffer from very low self-esteem. Vocational training is going to help their future but it doesn’t necessary help their self-esteem in the end of result of a person. ...They need recreation activities, organised and aimed for fun but character building as well.’

Accordingly, ‘vocational education (VE)’ is again distinguished from the term ‘vocational training’ in this research. Training concentrates on imparting technical skills that might improve young people’s economic circumstances, immediately or in the future. However, Education is obviously a bigger ‘skills and knowledge portfolio’. For instance, the recreation activities embedded in the healing process of VE include ‘writing, literacy, numeracy, gardening, carpentry, dance, theatre performance and so on. The theatre performance among those is the most effective method’ (stated by L13 in NGO₆). In other words, vocational education also aims to promote VE students’ self-esteem and confidence, and therefore is a ‘very self-esteem perspective’ (described by L08 in NGO₃). It aims to reach ‘(the) goal that students can go to you and tell what they think, ...and (students can) be independent thinkers and questioners.’ (stated by L09 in NGO₃). To do so, the pedagogical design of a playground and its activities may be expected to be a prerequisite for educating students in the VE service. Sports and cultural activities in the playground make a special contribution to the rehabilitation of young people, through which their ability to express, to voice and to reason are developed, their social awareness concerning their livelihood is raised and more importantly, their confidence and self-esteem are encouraged. Rehabilitation thus means to restore and encourage

students' psychosocial development for self-expression, self-esteem and confidence, as the foundation for their becoming effective learners at NGO VE services and afterwards, agents of social change.

7.1.2 Formal Setting: Classroom

Effective learning requires a great deal of theoretical understanding together with appropriate physical practices and skills. Two components underpinning formal curricular modules in the formal learning setting have been found crucial in motivating students to learn effectively: one is '**know-how acquisition**' and the other is '**moral involvement**'.

(3) Know-How Acquisition

One sound purpose of VE service providers is to help students to excel and be competitive in the Cambodian labour market. While L06 in NGO₂ expected his students '(to) do ordinary work extraordinarily well' (the excellence principle), his colleague L04 added their educational belief that 'the best is first!' (the competitive principle). They both strive to build up the foundations of a sustainable livelihood for their students, rather than temporary survival. Nevertheless, in some cases (including NGO₂) those efforts are faced by internal and external determinants such as low employment rates in the district, already discussed in 6.4.2. So as far as VE pedagogy is concerned, to what extent might it be shaped by the demands of the Cambodian labour market? More importantly, as each year new labour absorption lags behind labour supply in Cambodia, how might VE pedagogy help vulnerable young people learn to excel and be competitive?

Gaining skills and technical knowledge is named ‘know-how acquisition’ here, because many service providers in the case studies emphasise the students’ capacity for ‘knowing how to do that’ rather than ‘knowing how to state that’. This refers to the physical and practical (and more or less, theoretical) understanding of relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes. Table 5.3 (in Chapter 5, p120) lists the VE courses provided by the nine NGOs in this research. All show their awareness of labour market demands in the garment and tourism industries in Cambodia, and their methods of responding by teaching the relevant skills are apparent. L04 in NGO₂ first argues that the course design should be ‘very practical’. Accordingly, part-time courses in NGO₂ are provided in a flexible way, in order to reduce the opportunity cost of students’ participation in the VE service. In another case, NGO₃, the modular courses are taught in a hands-on and participatory way; they are both practical and feasible. As described by L08 in NGO₃,

‘there are three or four levels for each technical subject. Each level contains one to three modules. It’s a very stepping and broken-down thing. We found the best teaching approach is very participatory, very hands-on and physical learning. ... It is also the self-esteem base. No body said you fail. If you’re unsuccessful in exams, you simply carry out next time. ... People who complete the training are awarded by diploma, satisfied by the Ministry of Education in Cambodia. So it’s an issued, recognised qualification.’

The flexibility of course design is also reliant upon innovation. NGO₉, for instance, had the innovative idea of setting up mobile classes in both sewing and motorbike repair in each village around the border town of Poipet, employing teachers who themselves come from those villages. This programme has attracted many

impoverished learners, since the classes are brought closer to those living at a distance from Poipet. Most of those people could not afford to travel to the town where the majority of NGOs operating in the area are based. It has been found that local NGOs (e.g. NGO₉) more than INGOs (e.g. NGO₂ and NGO₃) draw upon the community as an important source of social capital, and local knowledge to re-energise NGO VE services and to improve its pedagogy; i.e. to make VE services context-appropriate.

On the other hand, in an attempt to make their VE services context-appropriate, all INGOs in the case studies employ more Cambodian teachers than foreign ones. That notwithstanding, the traditional Khmer teacher-learner relationship is, at the same time, being questioned by expatriate leading managers in the INGOs. As observed, Cambodian teachers such as T14, T15 and T16 in NGO₅ show less interaction with students in class, and maintain a distance from them. One described his thoughts about the way in which teachers should behave, as follows:

‘Teachers shouldn’t be too close to students or play with students; otherwise students will see through your mind.’ (Quoted from T14 interview transcript, on 18 Feb 2006)

On this point, expatriate leading managers such as L07 in NGO₂ expressed their concern that the traditional teacher-learner relationship in Cambodia keeps most students silent at class. They further suggest that the ‘western’ and traditional Khmer teacher-learner interactions at class must come together, stimulate and compromise with one another to some point. If we take learning how to cook as an example, students need to identify and memorise each ingredient first, and then recite all the

possible ingredient combinations of different dishes. They need to practise repeatedly how to chop, cut and peel, and imitate cooking in a traditional way before they will be able to make a delicious dish that is dependent on their understanding of the ingredients, or to produce any creative innovations.

Another important teaching issue that VE service providers encounter is the need to cope with the diverse socioeconomic backgrounds and different educational levels of students within a class. This occurs especially in the VE services where the unspoken agenda on student selection is ‘pro-potential’ rather than ‘pro-poor’, as analysed in 6.4.1. Team-working methods are used by both T02 in NGO₁ and A01 in NGO₂ to make the knowledge disseminated appropriate and beneficial to all their different students. Teachers’ expectations, encouragement and behaviour as role models may be the catalyst, but the brighter students are also expected to encourage their less clever or less confident peers. This is not only to promote an atmosphere of cooperation and inclusion, but also to encourage greater communication and interaction among students. This not only helps the relatively privileged students’ social awareness and interest in supporting their poorer, disadvantaged classmates, but reduces those less able students’ fear of learning and their ‘blank face’ in class (described by T02, i.e. poor comprehension).

The different educational levels of VE students could also be observed in relation to different urban areas. For instance, students from the capital Phnom Penh have on average better comprehension, generic skills such as problem solving, information collection and analysis, and basic knowledge of subjects like mathematics and English than do those from other provinces in NGO₁. For provincial students, remedial evening courses are organised. New students arriving at NGO₄ in

Battambang suffer from panic, fear, sometimes homesickness and headaches, when faced with learning activities. As L10 in NGO₄ said, she needs more patience to persuade and retain students rather than letting them give up. The experienced senior advisor L05 and the new teacher T07, both of whom transferred from Phnom Penh to Poipet, find it rather challenging to teach in their new city. As Poipet students show similar symptoms to those described earlier, nervousness, headaches and fear of learning, L05 has adopted a rather more personal teaching style, and offers advice to students on a one-to-one basis.

Students in both Phnom Penh and Poipet stated in their interviews that without sustainable economic gain, any inspirational thoughts and dreams about contributing to society will be hard to realise. Conversely, it is also true that competitive and gainful employment are more likely to be sustained and shaped by an empowered mind, which is stable, confident and persistent, and thus principled. To be self-interested while also interested in the common good, excellent and flexible teaching and the acquisition of technical knowledge are not sufficient on their own. To accomplish the intended purposes of employment and empowerment in NGO VE intervention, it seems that at least three of the pedagogic components described in the coming sections need to be taken into account.

(4) Moral Involvement

‘My best experience in the school (i.e. NGO₂) is “moral talking”, because I know the things that I never know (knew) before. ...Before I don’t (didn’t) want to speak, to smile. I looked down myself, but now I changed. I feel I have hope. I love the persons (who) live around me. Before, I hated the

persons.' (Quoted from interview transcript with S65, 29 January 2006)

'Here (i.e. NGO₁) is different from other schools, especially in "value education". Value education makes me feel happy and try to learn more.'

(Quoted from interview transcript with S50, 21 March 2006)

As quoted above, many traumatised service beneficiaries describe a feeling that their knowledge acquisition is in fact inseparable from their moral involvement. The curricular module of 'values education' (called 'moral talking' 'ethics' 'personality development' 'good manners' and 'Khmer culture' in the other NGOs in the case study) matters to them, because their mental happiness, stability and courage are in large part attributable to it. Activities that involve hearing morality tales, having teachers and visiting speakers as models around on a daily basis, and collective social work in communities all in turn contribute to their effective acquisition of technical skills, knowledge and understanding.

From the NGO VE service providers' perspective, the second-class socioeconomic group is likely to better itself if the morality of those students can be promoted. Whether in the classroom or during out-reach activities, teachers tend to present and convey values by using real-life issues and examples. While students are being helped to make sense of the circumstances and socio-cultural matters that affect them, they learn how to solve problems and deal with moral dilemmas. As suggested by L05 in NGO₂ (on 6 February 2007),

'in Moral talking, I don't talk about big theory or something in the air, but the things (that are) really relevant to students' everyday life.'

In Cambodian society, permeated with its recent, tragic history, collective trauma and broken-down social trust, the distribution of work is largely based upon employers' social relationships. They offer work to relatives, friends or the people that they know. This being so, VE graduates who are recommended by NGOs as having a good moral reputation, as well as better skills, will have a better chance of being accepted by an employer. As observed by the service providers at (secular) NGO₃, students' moral character will be seen as a positive, useful attribute by potential employers. From the providers' point of view at (religious) NGO₁, the enhancement of students' own standards and values may serve a useful role in both prevention and encouragement. It serves to encourage the students' self-discipline, positive behaviour and good judgment, in order to deal with depression or feelings of frustration. It helps young people not only to secure employment, but also to accept a degree of social responsibility. As affirmed by the leading manager L02 in NGO₁,

'the biggest difference between this and other vocational training is that we try to build up our students' values. So, they not only care about themselves, but also care about their families, their society and others.' (Quoted from interview transcript with L02, on 22 March 2006)

However, the notion of morality is by no means a fixed one. A moral value system is introduced from the outset by the service providers, but later it will inevitably be shaped and re-modelled by both service providers and beneficiaries as its strength and relevance are scrutinised in the light of practice within the cultural and social

context of Cambodia. Above all, certain pedagogic similarities and differences in fostering students’ morality could be distinguished between the religious NGOs and the secular ones. The values selected, the reasons why they should be conveyed, and how that should be done, revolve essentially around religious values and cultural bias. These are compared briefly in Table 7.2:

Table 7.2: Pedagogy in fostering students’ morality between religious NGOs and secular NGOs

	Religious NGOs, e.g. NGO ₁	Secular NGOs, e.g. NGO ₃
What to convey:	Christian values (such as love, forgiveness, and sacrifice for others) and Khmer culture	‘Universal principles’ (e.g. UN conventions) and Khmer culture
Why to convey: (pedagogic purposes)	Prevention of frustration and encouragement to take social responsibility; making sense of real-life issues and situation; for “whole person” (said by L10); for “good persons in the world” (said by L05).	As employable disposition; for reintegration into society; for “well-being” (said by L08); making sense of real-life issues and situations; for “independent thinker” (said by L09).
How to convey:	Long-term regular course as part of formal curriculum; foreign staff are encouraged to interact with students.	Artistic or cultural therapy in the forms of short-term workshops; foreign staff are forbidden direct contact with students.
Foreign providers’ self-perception	Insider (Lifelong commitment in locality)	Outsider (“The whole point is, we’re setting it up and moving on,” as said by L09)
Controversies (i.e. space for negotiation)	Religious belief exists in the name of universal principles (e.g. is Catholic ‘moral/value education’ ethical in Cambodia?)	Cultural bias exists in the name of universal principles (e.g. whose ethical or aesthetical values are conveyed? Can the UN values be counted as ‘universal’?)

For the three Catholic INGOs in the multiple-case study, morality teaching is integrated into the formal curriculum. It refers to both classroom activities and out-reach services in the communities nearby. At NGOs’ VE, least one to two hours per day are allocated to class discussions of moral issues. In addition, small groups

are encouraged to undertake collective, voluntary and social work by NGOs at weekends. These groups include both current and graduate students, so that experiences can be shared between them. As found in my observation field notes on 18 March 2007:

'Invited by a small social work group of four NGO₁ VE students, I went with them to a slum area on the outskirts of the capital city Phnom Penh. As directly observed, four students taught slum children English, Khmer, hygiene and health, played with them, and read stories for them. At the end of this voluntary activity, four VE students delivered each child a small plastic bag full of biscuits as reward for those who came to learn. I noticed that each student behaved politely and said 'thank you' when handing in a biscuit bag to each child. Through this social practice, VE students not receive only, but also learn to give. Those students might become models too in front of the kids.'

As observed, in order to achieve social justice the focus on social commitment from both service providers and receivers makes sure that education is not merely a one-way ticket for educated young people moving towards the privileged strata of society. The service beneficiaries also take responsibility, and in their turn lend a hand in creating more opportunities for the larger population remaining behind in poor communities. By comparison, another religious INGO (i.e. NGO₈) based on Christian Evangelism integrates religious music, hymns and free English bible study into the teaching-learning activities, in a hope of producing a spontaneous moral effect. Secular NGOs like NGO₃ and NGO₆ provide cultural and artistic therapy including drama, dance, drawing and music on an irregular basis. The behavioural norms and thoughts of service providers, as described by L11 at the secular NGO₅,

play a key role (i.e. model) to influence those of students. Teachers are always observed, discussed, measured and analysed by students; and students are more readily convinced and willing to make moral judgements and actions in real life, if they see teachers doing so in their daily practices. To reflect upon the findings so far, ‘moral involvement’ is thus identified as having great significance here. One reason is because it involves both VE students’ theoretical understanding of moral values within their class, and their physical practice crossing the boundaries between NGOs and their local communities. The other is because it involves both service providers and beneficiaries learning and working together.

Some similarities in the process of engaging and developing students’ morality are found in both the religious and secular NGOs. Students’ moral development relies heavily upon service providers’ understanding of Cambodian society and constant, careful reflection upon their own thoughts, bias and actions within that. Especially for expatriate providers, no matter how long they may have stayed in Cambodia, cultural conflicts constantly emerge and challenge them, between the degree to which they understand Khmer culture and the extent to which they ‘abuse’ their understanding. Sometimes a cultural conflation is made to resolve a dilemma, or some compromise with a ‘wrong’ social custom, and that in turn may strengthen the existing inequality. For example, NGO₁ offers ‘coffee money’ to community leaders from whom the permission may be obtained to serve vulnerable children in the community. NGO₄ supports girls financially by paying unofficial fees to teachers at public schools. As observed, NGO service providers’ moral principles must be continuously adjusted somehow in order to conform to the existing Cambodian socio-cultural norms. This discussion of cultural conflict and cultural conflation in the process of balancing power relationships among powerful locals, vulnerable

young people, and NGO workers (both expatriate and local) will be given further consideration in 7.2.2.

7.1.3 Boundary-Crossing Venue: Workshop

A workshop, to use the pedagogic term, is accepted as being on-the-job training or apprenticeship. The term intersects with the managerial constituent ‘Commercial Practice’ (in 6.4.3.2), while the latter emphasises the managerial meaning, such as its relevance to resources, rather than pedagogic ideas. Other than merely simulating what business is like in the classroom, workshops give students the real opportunity to cross the boundary between the classroom and the workplace, and to gather work experience in the real business world. Seven out of the nine cases (except for NGO₄ and NGO₈) organise on-the-job training for their current students, as seen in Table 6.6. In one case, NGO₇, the workshop is owned by the NGO itself. Students completing their classroom learning (lasting for a year and a half) are allowed to practice in the workshop for half a year. In another case, NGO₁, short-term, on-the-job training (lasting for one to two months) is undertaken away from the protection of the NGO, with limited supervision and involvement by the teaching staff. Students’ performance in a private company or factory is jointly evaluated by the NGO teaching staff and the business owners. NGO₂ and NGO₉ have successfully developed on-the-job training opportunities for only small groups of students, in sewing and cooking courses respectively. The workshops found in the other cases (NGO₃, NGO₅ and NGO₆) overlap the daily functions of classrooms, in the form of apprenticeships, and thus a more holistic learning approach could be seen. While the location and duration of on-the-job training are a matter of debate among NGOs, two constituents for composing a workshop are generally agreed to be essential by

the VE service providers.

(5) The Incentive

One is ‘the incentive’. This means to provide current students in need with opportunities for income generation, in order to motivate their learning performance, deter them from dropping-out, and offset the high opportunity costs of learning at NGO VE services. In short, it is ‘earn-while-you-learn’. The idea was given special emphasis by the service providers in Poipet, which is a poor town in comparison with the other three urban areas in this study.

A01 in NGO₂ describes his observation in Poipet that,

‘younger children have time but do not want to learn; and older ones want to learn but need to work. The poor youth at least need to do part-time work when they go to school’ (Quoted from the interview on 12 February 2007).

That is why income generation opportunities are provided for the sewing students in NGO₂. One sewing teacher, T10, said that,

‘...for some sewing girls, (Catholic) Father buys cloth materials from market...about 4000 riels, and then sells the cloth materials in a cheaper price...about 2000 riels to the sewing students.’

Sewing students could then use the sewing machines in NGO₂ to produce some marketable clothes for sale. In Poipet, L12 in NGO₆ further explains why incentives are so important to young people. The reasons could be expressed in terms of the psychological, cultural and social aspects of life. Psychologically, as long as

youngsters do not need to beg for money, their confidence and self-esteem will not suffer any further damage. Culturally, they are expected by their family members to bring some money home; a small income can meet their familial expectations and economic requirements. Socially, earning money helps young individuals to deal more confidently with social life. They need money to support their social relationships and sometimes, to be able to buy stationery, snacks or things that might not be apparent to their adult relatives or the NGO staff.

In a response close to the service providers', at interview the service beneficiaries from NGO₂ expressed their need to produce an income for their families. The following quotation may express this best. The student says that,

'I want to work, because I can help my poor family, help my brothers and sisters to study. Like me, I don't (didn't) have money to study before. My brothers and sisters can't study now' (Quoted from interview with S60, on 25 January 2006)

(6) The Consultative

The other component of workshop practices is 'consultative'. NGOs provide technical advice and follow-up service to enable students to take advantage of the values of work, i.e. to learn that work is not only a process of productivity, but also a process of socialization. Students are encouraged to solve problems, cope with challenges and critically analyze issues and relationships encountered at work. In short, it is 'grow-while-you-work'. After graduation, consultative activities are likely to be reduced but they do take place, in the form of monthly graduate meeting or by regular monitoring. The contact and consultation with graduate students may in turn

enrich the teaching materials and pedagogic ideas of service providers, and help to re-design or re-shape courses such as CV writing, interview preparation or business concepts for current students.

L13 and his frontline staff in NGO₆, for example, provide daily consultation and counselling to the apprentices at their NGO-owned water purification plant. They observe that the apprentices (15 young males) in the plant were aggressive or pessimistic at the outset. However, as young people gradually accumulate more experience to 'work together, produce something useful together and learn to live in a collective way, they (i.e. the apprentices) become more patient, respect females more, have better behaviours, respect collective life and also think more' (Quoted from the interview with L13, on 19 January 2006). The advantages of work include the fact that it engenders young people's experience of socialisation, and they benefit from a productive life. L12 in the same NGO also argues that the VE service should not only provide work for the immediate purpose of employment, but also for students' psychological development; i.e. for the purpose of improved well-being.

As exemplified in the design of the cooking courses in NGO₃, NGO₅ and NGO₉ in Table 7.3, students and teachers (not all, but most) in NGO₃ and NGO₅ are in fact living, learning and working together. The boundaries between classroom, workshop and living place are rather blurred in this real-life situation. In addition to group counselling and consultation having been formally introduced into the VE course design (e.g. at NGO₃), most service providers in these three cases agree that the VE form of apprenticeship (and its likelihood) helps their students seek more individual consultative experiences. Apprentices will take advantage of their involvement in the business environment, the opportunity to encounter relevant enterprise

relationships and other, more subtle, real-life issues. The interwoven work and lives of the trainers and apprentices also increases the range of opportunities for consultation, and this eventually helps students make sense of the complex situation and networks of a business.

Table 7.3: Comparison of training restaurants in NGO₃, NGO₅ and NGO₉

	NGO ₃	NGO ₅	NGO ₉
Cooking course designed as:	Apprenticeship-like; 3 levels × 3 modules	Traditional apprenticeship	In-class and on-the-job training
Combined with:	Life skills; literacy	English and Japanese	No
‘The consultative’ offered in a way of:	Formal group and informal individual	Informal individual	Occasional basis
‘Incentive’ offered:	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of students:	103 (about 2 students to 1 cooking teacher)	29 (with 6 cooking teachers)	10 (with 1 cooking teacher)
Food served:	Both Khmer and Western food	Khmer food	Western food
Location:	Good, central location in Phnom Penh	Good, central location in Siem Reap	Good, central location in Poipet
Potential customers:	Foreign tourists	Both foreign tourists and local Cambodians	Local Cambodians (But they do not care to eat foreign food)
Hygiene training and condition:	Good	Good	Not Good
Business result:	Good	Good	Not Good
Examples of Challenges:	The landlord threatened to take back the property.	The landlord ended the lease.	Loud karaoke noise from the neighbours.

7.2 Constituting an Empowering Environment

‘Empowerment is the MAIN objective of vocational training and education, actually than anything else. What is the point? Otherwise you’re training puppet if you don’t empower them.’
(Quoted from interview transcript with L13, 2 March 2007)

7.2.1 Defining Empowerment

As declared at the beginning of this research, VE is not only for the employment of vulnerable young people, but also for their empowerment. Accordingly, VE pedagogy is intended to create an enabling environment where students may effectively gain skills and become empowered. However, ‘empowerment is a big word’ (as declared by L03) and sometimes too big to be precise, as observed in the case studies. It seems to promise hope anywhere, but may lead to nowhere. Although ‘empowerment’ is found as an expressed aim in all the NGOs’ policy papers, and as a salient development objective of their VE services, the VE pedagogy oriented toward empowerment is neither explained in detail nor clearly examined. This ambiguity has not been addressed anywhere, as if young people are automatically empowered once they join VE courses or earn a living.

Given this, the VE service providers have in some instances made efforts to incorporate their own ideas for empowering vulnerable young people in their own practice. For instance, L03 in NGO₁ defined the meaning of empowerment as follows:

‘(empowerment is) to give the young girls skills, and help them to become women with good characters and good position in the society. We want to give them more values along with skills. So, they are able to stand on their feet, are able to face the situation outside, get the good jobs and then, they can form good family life.’

From the same Catholic order, L04 in NGO₂ defines empowerment as

‘to be practical, so as to be easy to improve (young people’s) own life. They will have good skills, to be ready to answer their needs in the country.

Immediate answers and quick solutions! They can develop their country with real instrument. So, for example, we need them to manage computer well, excellence!’

In spite of the slight difference in the definition of empowerment seen in the above two quotations, empirical findings show that a cooperative and inclusive environment for learning and living is most effective for nurturing youthful characters, and to encourage them to become economically independent and agents of social change. L08 in NGO₃ says that the ideas of empowerment should be embedded and embodied in the daily class structure, which is student-centred with core values of self-responsibility and self-esteem. No one declares the young people to have failed, as they take responsibility for their own learning process from the beginning to the end. Apart from the students’ learning environment, L13 in NGO₆ emphasised that empowerment should be built upon good communications with students and effective advice about their circumstances, as well as concerning those important social aspects that are relevant to their daily life. As L13 says,

‘the way to empower young people is to communicate, always. Not to give the rules and say that, you have to do this and come at one o’clock,... but to talk and give counselling in terms of their interests and needs, like living situation, relation with other boys, information from family and plan for the future.’

Many service providers point out that their students are in fact ‘intelligent and rational’ (stated by L04 and L08). With sufficient support such as counselling, information and encouragement from their NGOs, they learn fast from experience as well as their mistakes (said by L09), start to look beyond their earlier ‘simpler and naïve’ perspective (observed by L10) and actively plan for their future. L17 defines empowerment concisely as ‘to have hope in life.’ However, students’ hope or future plans are unlikely to be realised if they do not know how to use that knowledge, and what and where the ‘alternatives’ (emphasised by L07) and ‘practical ways’ (said by L05) might be. As for these alternatives or practical ways,

‘there is always another ...a more practical and realistic way to achieve your goal. For example, if your goal is to study at university...if you have no money to straightforwardly go to university, you could work first and then study later.’

(Quoted from interview with L05, on 19 February 2007)

L06, the most senior leading manager among all of those seen, stated directly that his long-developed idea of empowerment is to help young people ‘to realise, so as to make correct decisions by themselves’; otherwise, young people might experience frustration and fall into depression.

Rather than simply handing power over, the overall educational idea of empowerment is to involve vulnerable young people at an early stage, to practise

power through activities, and to let power emerge spontaneously from their side in a cooperative and inclusive environment. It is to ensure the students' empowerment process – especially participation and experience, from the beginning and throughout the whole of their vocational education. Briefly, empowerment from NGO VE service providers' definitions is to broaden students' vision, and to develop their capacity so as to realise their own ambitions and wishes. The means of constructing an enabling and empowering environment do in fact overlap the six pedagogic constituents covered in 7.1. From the service providers' perspective, empowerment implies their various educational expectations of promoting the service beneficiaries' personal development, economic independence and social role models, to become future leaders and change agents. The direct feedback from service beneficiaries' interviews affirms that there appears a positive consistency between the service providers' expectations and the service beneficiaries' perception of their own changes. Nevertheless, more findings will be presented in 8.3, in order to examine the congruency between the degree of the service beneficiaries' satisfaction with the NGOs and the nature of their actual performance at work, after graduation.

7.2.2 Balancing Power Relationships

'What counts as "true intervention"?' This question from expatriate worker A04 in NGO₅ is a constant challenge to many NGO service providers in Cambodia, and its answers may help shed light on Research Question 6 in this study. On the premise that empowerment of VE service beneficiaries is targeted in all cases, then finding how to balance the existing power relationship among expatriate staff, local staff and service beneficiaries is especially critical within the NGOs' foreigner-dominated

culture.

It was found that cultural issues are especially prominent when the pedagogy of international NGOs is introduced to Khmer students. The evidence demonstrates that international NGOs such as NGO₁ and NGO₈ rely heavily on foreign, volunteer teachers to transmit advanced technical knowledge to Khmer students. Many teachers are fluent in English but not in the Khmer language, and for many short-term volunteers a stay of only one or three months obviously allows them very little opportunity to understand the culture and life of Khmer students outside their NGOs. Students also find themselves in the difficult situation of having to adjust to the frequent change of teachers and new teaching styles, although many students think optimistically that this is a good chance for them to meet people of different nationalities. Along with western teachers, teaching materials (such as the English textbooks *Headway* and *LEDO*) are entirely westernized and culturally irrelevant, and this sometimes makes students bored and frustrated when they are unable to understand the ‘exotic’ contents.

In the course of empowering young people, the empowerment of local staff (in both INGOs and local NGOs) also emerges as important. Due to the twenty years of chronic infighting and the country’s recent war-torn history, local staff as observed are also afraid of the powerful and are not themselves accustomed to using power. Speaking fairly, adult Cambodian staff suffer more than the young people from their memories of warfare and genocide, and are victims of the nation’s collective trauma. Although we know that empowerment activities are intended for vulnerable young people, it is however argued that youngsters may not be truly empowered if the local staff are not empowered themselves. Empowerment of local staff is not just about

excellent capacity building, but also about mental preparation. As suggested by L05 in NGO₂, it is to foster their internal power, for example capacity building and mental strength, in order to handle external power which may be visualised as capital, reputation, resources etc. Otherwise they might have only a stumbling effect upon the common good, as many local staff are motivated to come to work by NGOs' higher salaries rather than being inspired by their humanitarian vision.

Both secular NGOs (NGO₃ and NGO₆) have separately experienced localisation, i.e. having their registration changed from INGOs to local NGOs, since 2004. The expatriate worker L12 particularly related his presence in NGO₆ to the mission of fund raising. He is aware of his privileged position in the aid culture of Cambodia and accordingly has handed over more decision-making power to local staff, saying that,

‘in reality, international donors, like UNICEF officers, rather believe...urrr need to see white face. ... But when I have contradictive ideas or dispute with local staff, eventually I will respect their ideas’.

Another expatriate staff member, L09 in NGO₃, avoids interacting with service beneficiaries for cultural reasons, privacy and the safety of the beneficiaries. Rather, he focuses on direct communication with the Cambodian staff and on their empowerment process, from their capacity building, to taking responsibility, to ultimately handing-over authority. He said critically that the ‘aid culture’ in Cambodia equates to a ‘new colonialism of NGOs’, and commented that,

‘most NGOs in Cambodia are foreigner-dominant, foreigner-run and literally, not even change Cambodians but take advantages for themselves’.

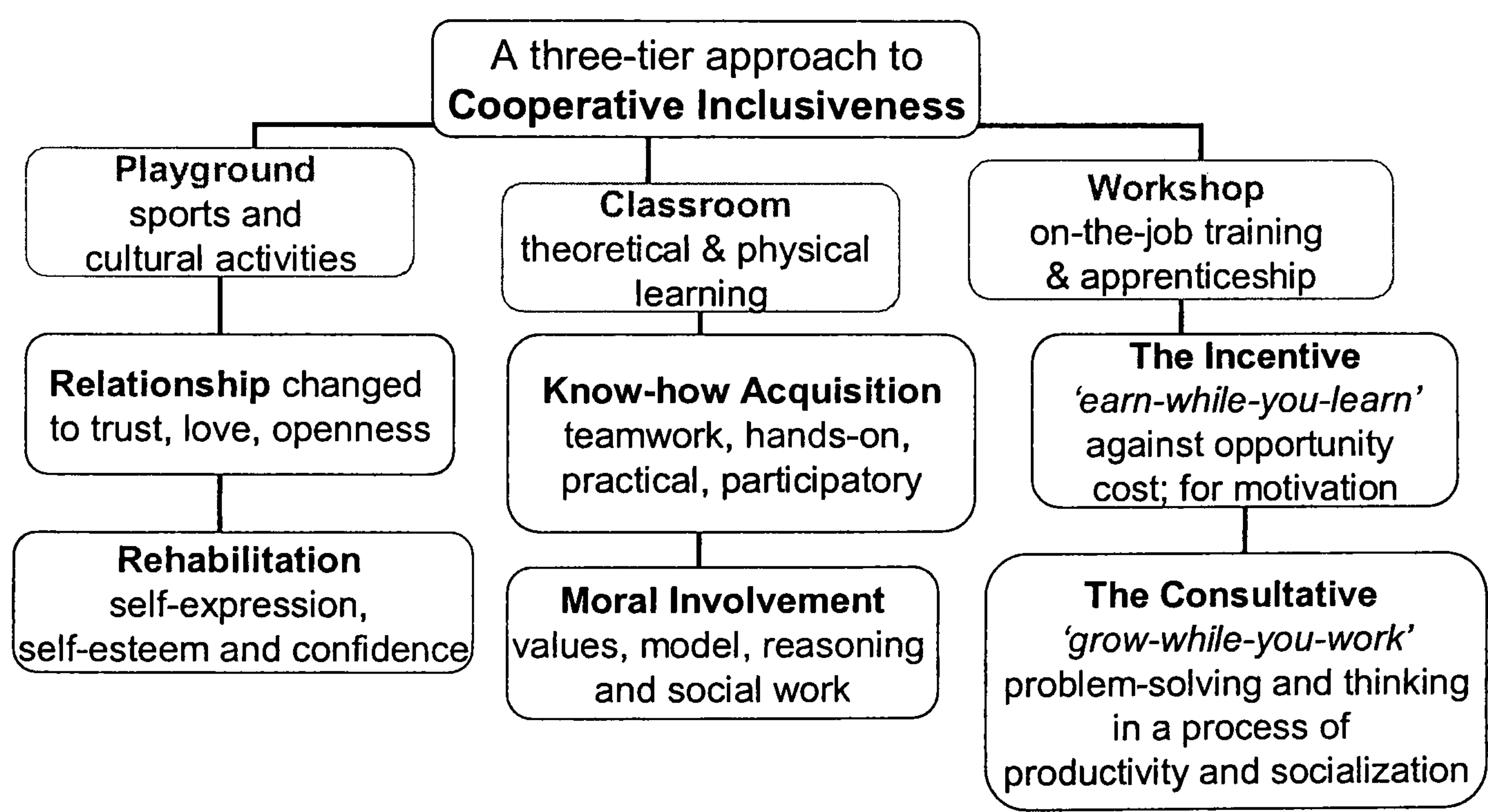
While foreigners' participation in NGO work is favoured by international donors and has thus become an inevitable phenomenon, the impact of expatriate workers' cultural bias and cultural conflicts upon the localisation of a NGO in general, and the empowerment of service beneficiaries in particular, might possibly be reduced. The reduction could be made if NGO expatriate workers were more self-aware and rejected an aid culture where they enjoy higher status. In other words, their intervention should, if they stand on the ground of 'humanitarian and compassion' (said by L09), follow 'human common sense and conscience' (by L12), and distinguish 'cultural bias from universal values, such as UN convention on child rights' (by L08).

Nevertheless, the solution itself might conceal another impasse. The training restaurants of NGO₉ (a local NGO) and NGO₅ (with strong local leadership), both evoked concern from their foreign partners about the possibility of child abuse during training. The recruitment of apprentices under 15 might be ethical in the social norm and context of Cambodia, while it is in conflict with foreigners' moral or ethical principles. To what degree might the UN conventions be regarded as universal principles, without taking the dominant global politics and culture into consideration? By whose ethical or aesthetic values? Are judgements made based upon cultural bias? How can NGOs empower vulnerable young people and simultaneously avoid the process being undermined by the 'alien' culture of international NGOs and/or by local elites? There seem to be no absolute answers. However, the socio-economic status of vulnerable young people would be more likely uplifted and as a result, a win-win situation would be further promoted if the NGO VE service itself were counted as 'effective'. This will be examined in Chapter 8.

7.3 Summary

As examined in Chapters 6 and 7, from the case studies there appear to be six pedagogic and seven managerial constituents that are central to the effectiveness of NGO VE services providing education and empowerment for vulnerable young people in urban Cambodia. The pedagogic and managerial constituents are shown in Figure 7.1 and Figure 7.2 respectively, with a summary of the definition and conceptualization of each constituent.

Figure 7.1: Pedagogic constituents of an effective NGO VE service

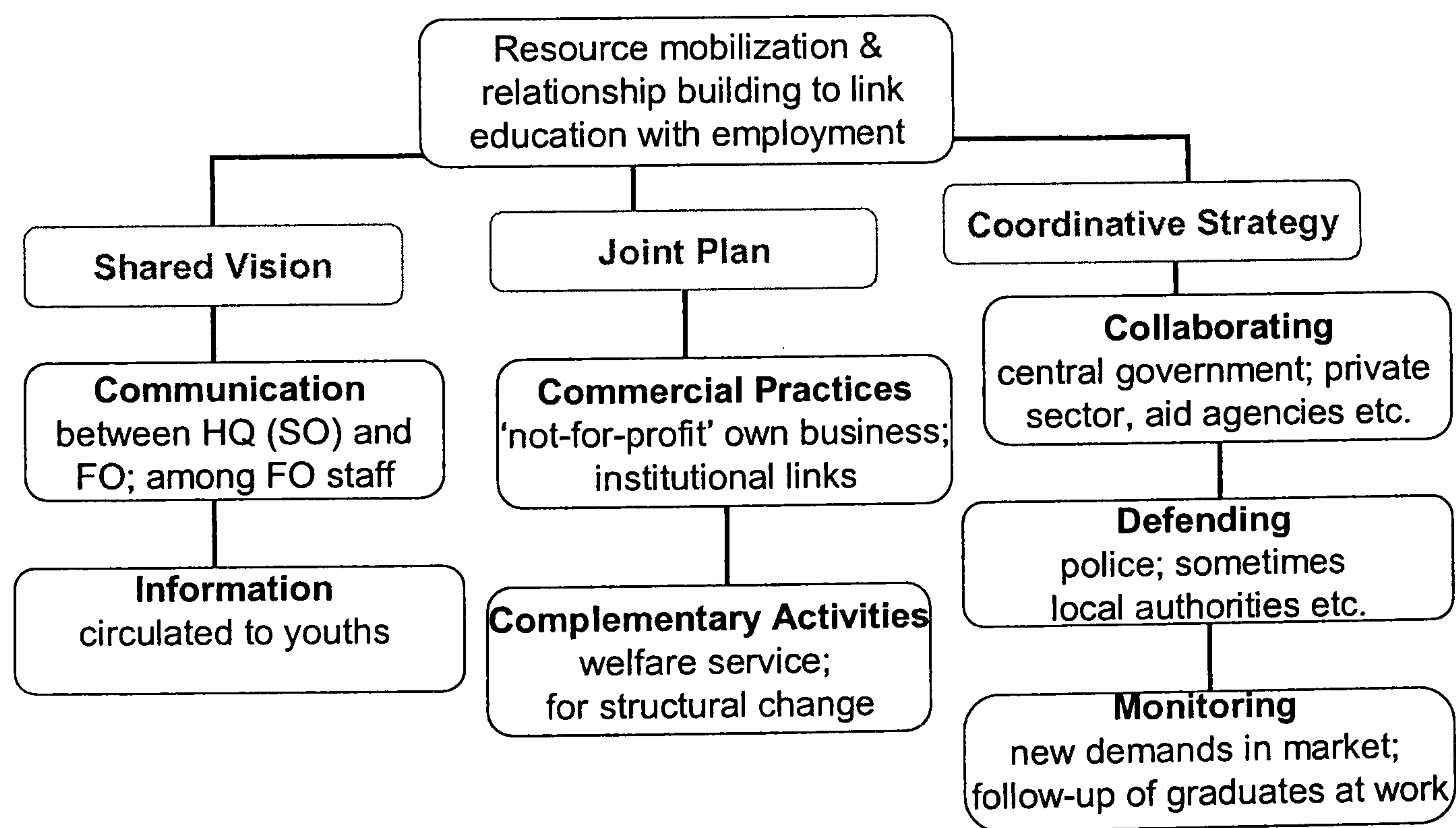


- (1) **Relationship Development:** refers to the relationship between vulnerable young people and NGO staff turning into trust, love and openness.
- (2) **Rehabilitation:** to meet the psychosocial needs of students, especially the need to express themselves, and to restore self-esteem and confidence.
- (3) **Know-How Acquisition:** to help students acquire employable skills and

technical knowledge in a participatory, practical and cooperative way.

- (4) **Moral Involvement:** to convey a set of values to students, for character building, judgment making, and taking social responsibility.
- (5) **The Incentive:** to provide income generation opportunities for needy students, in order to motivate learning and to offset the opportunity cost of learning at their VE service.
- (6) **The Consultative:** to provide students with consultation, in order to help them take advantage (via the process of production and socialization) of the values that exist at their places of work.

Figure 7.2: Managerial constituents of an effective NGO VE service



- (7) **Communication:** communication and sharing about project needs and resources among NGO staff (including frontline staff, between FO and HQ/SO).
- (8) **Information:** information about jobs and further study is circulated to young people.
- (9) **Commercial Practices:** where the NGO has its own business, and/or makes institutional links, in order to improve students' commercial experience.
- (10) **Complementary Activities:** where the NGO generates other projects to deal with factors affecting the students' learning at the NGO VE service.
- (11) **Collaborating Strategy:** to deal with a semi-supportive relationship with central government, other NGOs, aid agencies and the business network, in order to mobilize resources and gather support from the powerful and the resourceful.
- (12) **Defending Strategy:** to combat any non-supportive relationship with the police and sometimes, local authorities and hostile communities.
- (13) **Monitoring Strategy:** to detect opportunities and threats in the national context, research new demands in the labour market, and in turn inform the future design of joint plans.

In sum, having emerged from the data analysis process with the NVivo application, 13 key constituents have been conceptualised and exemplified by comparing NGOs in the last chapter and this. These constituents may have shown varying levels of strength in the different NGOs, and hence their combination within the nine NGOs might result in different degrees of effectiveness. By investigating the relative importance of each constituent and constituent-relations (i.e. inter-consistency) with the application of DCA modelling, my understanding and insight into the effectiveness of each NGO will be illuminated. Finally, the influence of each constituent upon graduates' learning outcomes needs to be taken into account. In

other words, the findings of effectiveness within the NGO VE service will be further examined and scrutinized by using follow-up evidence concerning the VE graduates' learning outcomes. These are derived from the structured interviews with 67 original students, and direct observation of their performance at workplaces in 2007, and will be seen in the next chapter.

Chapter 8 Modelling the Effectiveness of Nine Case Studies

8.1 Introduction

Using as source materials the managerial and pedagogic findings in Chapters 6 and 7, this chapter begins with the application of the ‘Dynamic Concept Analysis (DCA)’ modelling approach (Konttinen 1991; Konttinen 2002a), in order to conceptualise the effectiveness of NGOs’ intervention in vocational education (VE). On the one hand, DCA has aided my understanding of each NGO VE service in the case study; on the other, it illuminates the degree to which each managerial and pedagogical constituent of the effectiveness could contribute to an overall and wholesome intervention strategy, especially when constituent relations are taken into account. Following the application of DCA in 8.2, the modelling results will be scrutinised by follow-up observation and a survey of VE graduates’ learning outcomes in 8.3. In this way the key research question, which explores just what constitutes effective intervention by NGOs offering vocational education to assist the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people in Cambodia, may be answered in more detail.

The research tool DCA, together with its computer programme, were developed in the Department of Education, Helsinki University, as a means to integrate information into conceptual models. The information (as summarised in the ‘DCA information matrix’ in Appendix G) in general contains some central concepts (13 constituents, in this research), characteristics of the concepts (called ‘attributes’ in this research), and concept relations (also named ‘constituent relations’). Based upon the given

information, each NGO VE service will be described and modelled in 8.2, with special reference to an inter-NGO comparison on their management and pedagogy (as seen in Table 8.1). The nine NGO VE services are separately characterised by different attribute combinations, resulting in different organisational models. After the internal consistency and relations among constituents in each NGO organisational model are clearly drawn, my insight into the effectiveness of each case will be confirmed, and the relative importance of the constituents employed within the nine case studies as a group will be identified in addition. An analysis of the effect of both pedagogic and managerial constituents upon VE graduates' performance at work is found in 8.3 and ultimately, the nature of effective as well as context-appropriate intervention by NGOs will be theorised further in 8.4.

8.2 Conceptualising Effectiveness: An Application of Dynamic Concept Analysis

Dynamic Concept Analysis (DCA) is drawn upon here to help conceptualize the effectiveness of NGOs' intervention in the empowerment and employment of vulnerable young people in Cambodia. The reasons for employing this educational research tool are to deal with the many *contextual, organisational, methodological* and *theoretical* challenges of this multiple-case study, as elaborated below.

Contextually, the multiple-case study is situated in a scenario of rapid social and economic change in Cambodia, as described in Chapter Two. It aims to contribute directly to the personal development, economic gain and social engagement of vulnerable young people in the country. To embed the practices of social cohesion and income equality into the hegemonic impingement of economic globalisation and neo-liberal agenda upon Cambodia, DCA created in Finland has been selected because it benefits from the Scandinavian research inheritance and traditional concerns with social-inclusive and equality spheres of education (Arnesen and Lundahl 2006). The Nordic emphasis upon egalitarian structures in education and matching economic competitiveness with social democracy, rather than the economic utilitarian of education seen in Anglo-Saxon neo-liberalism (Green 2006; Rubenson 2006), seems better suited to reflect the broader contextual challenge in this research.

At the *organisational* level, the multiple-case study is not only about exploring the current organisational structure of the 9 NGO VE services, but also about the promotion of qualitative change in their organisational behaviour. DCA was first conceived to describe the development of human activity (e.g. adult learners in

vocational education) and later, was used to explain the change of organisational culture and behaviour (e.g. management in higher education) in the educational and inter-disciplinary domain (Al-Jaroodi 1996; Kontiainen 2002). The temporary organisational structures captured by DCA in the form of conceptual models has helped me to make sense of the organisations' current strengths and weaknesses in the given urban context, and accordingly to plan the possible directions for organisational change (Kontiainen 2002; Nurmi 2002)

Methodologically, DCA, as expounded by Kontiainen (2002) and Nurmi (2002), has connected its methodological strengths to the nature of inquiry with the following essential features:

Firstly, integration of nomothetic and idiographic approaches into the studies of organisational or human behaviour. DCA combines nomothetic and idiographic traditions insofar to use the same source of information both for generalisations and for an understanding/description of individual cases.

Secondly, the emphasis on both 'descriptive findings' and 'prescriptive findings' (termed by Amaratunga and Baldry 2001). Unlike many popular analytic approaches such as discourse analysis, the analytical function of DCA aims at not just producing an insightful understanding of individual cases, but also sending direct implications for improvement and solution in the hope to guide new processes and plan for change of these cases.

Thirdly, the preference for a holistic rather than an atomistic view of reality. DCA, under the assumption that the whole reality is more than the sum of its parts, is designed to reduce the degree of fragmentation in research. In practice, DCA draws upon a procedure to systematically process information; it employs a comprehensive analysis of the inter-relations among the parts and comprehends a phenomenon (i.e. a

‘whole’) as a complex network of concepts and concept relations (i.e. the ‘parts’ and their inter-relations).

Following this, DCA modelling process could be seen as a combination of both mechanistic and organismic ways. Kontiainen (2002) refers ‘mechanistic models’ to the DCA function of the clear and systematic display of concepts and their relations. In so doing, DCA assisted in uncovering the ambiguities and missing concept relations (as indicated by the question mark ‘?’ in Appendix D) in my case study, and eventually led me to undertake the second fieldwork. Also, DCA models are regarded as organismic because it could capture the complexities and dynamic structure of a model, and further process as well as suggest the future development of the model structure. This will be soon elaborated and discussed in 8.2.3.

The combined effect of the above four methodological entailments of DCA overshadows the other analysis tools such as NVivo. In this doctoral research, DCA, complementary to the use of NVivo helps to point out the ambiguities in the process of obtaining a comprehensive and holistic view of a dynamic phenomenon. The use of NVivo, often at odds with the mechanics of applying the computer programme, has sometimes proven elusive and fragmental and led to a stereotyped and less illuminating result (Dean and Sharp 2006). With the intention of making ‘parts’ of a reality to a ‘whole’, I first of all used NVivo to identify the concepts (i.e. constituents) that most frequently emerge from the empirical data. By doing and re-doing so, a general outlook on concept relations (i.e. constituent relations) developed spontaneously but not systematically. Next, by means of DCA application with limited procedures, each atomistic concept could be related to one another in a systematic way; and later in this chapter, the DCA modelling result proves its high responsiveness and compatibility with my general outlook and the insights generated earlier. In the UK,

DCA has been adopted by many educational researchers including PhD theses in the past decade, as seen in work such as Wilson (1991), Ridge (1992), Al-Jaroodi (1996), Munro (1996), Bloomfield (1997), Kontiainen and Tight (2002) and Evans, Kersh et al. (2004). Notably, however, DCA has rarely found application in contexts outside the UK and the Nordic countries (Nurmi 2002). Given the opportunity to use the DCA approach, its value in illuminating a dynamic phenomenon in an Asian context is not only worth testing, it also needs to be tested.

Theoretically, by taking advantages of DCA's strength in analysing the relative importance of constituents and calculating the 'internal consistency' (i.e. 'internal relations' or 'internal connection' among constituents) of each NGO organisational model, my subjective understanding of the effectiveness of each NGO VE service could be tested and confirmed. Internal consistency between the various organisational parameters in particular has great implications for effectiveness. The rationale for examining the internal consistency among the constituents of a NGO model derives directly from the logic that the higher internal consistency is, the more effectiveness it represents (Fowler and Pratt 1997; Grierson 1997; Bosker and Visscher 1999; Kontiainen and Tight 2002; Creemers and Kyriakides 2008).

Therefore, using the DCA approach, nine organisational models respectively representing nine NGO VE services will be produced. Each model is composed of 13 pedagogical and managerial constituents, despite the fact that the emphasis on constituents and their 'inter-consistency' (i.e. 'inter-relation' or 'inter-connection' among the 13 constituents of each NGO VE service) must inevitably differ from one model to another. Such differences not only suggest the differing degrees of effectiveness, they also reflect the NGO's organisational cultures and operating

environment. Owing to this, Section 8.2 is structured as follows: first, the methodological features and stages of DCA are further articulated and clarified in 8.2.1. The information matrix (in Appendix G) is set up, from which the DCA modelling could be developed. The constituent relations shown in the information matrix are direct evidence from empirical data, taken from the previous two chapters of empirical findings and summarised in Appendix H. Secondly, 9 models standing for the 9 organisational types of NGO VE services are built up, with special reference to the 9 combinations of constituent attributes (as shown in columns, in Table 8.1). The models are described and analysed in 8.2.2 for what they suggest about the effectiveness in relation to different NGOs' organisational cultures, characteristics and urban situations. Finally, following the re-modelling by further application of DCA, some discussion will be found in 8.2.3 concerning the possible organisational changes and developments that should lead to better effectiveness.

Table 8.1: NGOs and their constituent attributes in dynamic concept analysis (DCA)

<div>NGOs</div> <div>Constituents</div>	NGO ₁	NGO ₂	NGO ₃	NGO ₄	NGO ₅	NGO ₆	NGO ₇	NGO ₈	NGO ₉
1. Relationship	Trustful	Trustful	Neutral	Trustful	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral
2. Rehabilitation	Central	Neutral	Central	Central	Non-central	Central	Non-central	Non-central	Non-central
3. Moral	Central	Central	Neutral	Central	Non-central	Neutral	Non-central	Neutral	Non-central
4. Know-how	Excellence	Neutral	Excellence	Excellence	Neutral	Survival	Excellence	Excellence	Survival
5. Incentive	Non-central	Neutral	Central	Non-central	Central	Central	Non-central	Non-central	Non-central
6. Consultative	Neutral	Non-central	Central	Non-central	Non-central	Central	Non-central	Non-central	Neutral
7. Communication	Active	Active	Active	Active	Active	Active	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral
8. Information	Circulative	Neutral	Restrictive	Restrictive	Restrictive	Restrictive	Restrictive	Restrictive	Restrictive
9. Commercial	Central	Neutral	Central	Neutral	Central	Neutral	Central	Non-central	Central
10.Complementary	Welfare	Structural	Neutral	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare	Welfare
11. Collaborating	Cooperative	Cooperative	Cooperative	Neutral	Isolative	Cooperative	Isolative	Cooperative	Cooperative
12. Defending	Passive	Neutral	Neutral	Passive	Neutral	Neutral	Passive	Passive	Passive
13. Monitoring	Neutral	Passive	Active	Passive	Passive	Passive	Passive	Passive	Neutral

Note: ‘Constituents’ refer to the 13 managerial and pedagogical constituents of effectiveness. The constituent attributes (e.g. ‘Trustful’ and ‘Central’) in this Table are clearly defined in Pages 219-224.

8.2.1 Dynamic Concept Analysis of NGO VE Services

The DCA application in this research is based on the construction of a special information matrix containing information on 13 pedagogic and managerial constituents, with their constituent attributes and constituent relations. In other words, the matrix serves as the source to systematically integrate this information into 9 different conceptual models. Three methodological questions are thus raised. The first is, how are the relations between constituents constructed? Technically speaking, there are five ways of relating one constituent to another. They are listed separately below:

- No relation between Constituent A and Constituent B (Type 1)
- A one-way relation exists between Constituent A and Constituent B (Type 2)
- A two-way relation between Constituent A and Constituent B (Type 3)
- No direct relation between Constituent A and Constituent B (Type 4); in other words, Constituent A is related to Constituent B via Constituent C
- Constituent A is related to Constituent B via a longer chain of constituent relations (Type 5)

In the information matrix (as seen in Appendix G), each cell represents either a positive linear relationship between two constituents (e.g. Cell 1/2), or that there is no relationship between two (e.g. empty Cell 3/4). In addition, a cell might represent a trend towards a positive (e.g. Cell 6/1) or negative (e.g. Cell 10/11) correlation.

Precisely, in this matrix structure, each cell refers to a direct relation (i.e. Type-2 relation) from one concept to another concept in question. When all the relations in the matrix are transformed into an organisational model of an NGO, the model for a particular combination of constituent attributes should include other Types (1, 3, 4 and

5) of relations. In short, a final model may appear to be a network of constituent relations where all five types of relations come into being together.

The second methodological issue is to justify how judgments are made about relating one constituent to another. The reliability and consistency of judgment making is based on the researcher's understanding and knowledge, and these depend upon the empirical qualitative evidence in this research. The judgments still raise questions about the subjectivity and bias of the researcher, the very same challenge that other qualitative researches normally face. Any questions about the researcher's subjectivity and cultural bias need to be mitigated by there being more transparency and scrutiny in the research process.

The final question is to interpret the constituent attributes in Appendix G. In fact, each constituent is given three attributes 'a', 'b' and 'n', in order to indicate at least three differing degrees at the conceptual spectrum of a constituent:

- 'a' represents the attributes 'trustful', 'central', 'excellence', 'active', 'circulative', 'welfare' and 'cooperative'.
- 'b' refers to the attributes 'suspicious', 'non-central', 'survival', 'passive', 'restrictive', 'structural' and 'isolative'.
- 'n' means the attribute 'neutral'. 'Neutral' indicates no particular trend towards either of the other two attributes, i.e. a neutral position between two extreme positions.

Before the different combinations of constituent attributes are selected for each NGO, the definitions of constituent attributes are as stated below:

Constituent 1: Relationship (trustful – neutral – suspicious)

Trustful: the relationship between NGO VE service providers and students is characterised by trust and openness.

Suspicious: the relationship between service providers and students is characterised by suspicion and distrust.

Neutral: no particular trend towards either of the other two attributes.

Constituent 2: Rehabilitation (central – neutral – non-central)

Central: the restoration of students' self-esteem, confidence and capacity for self-expression is stressed in the curriculum.

Non-central: the restoration of students' self-esteem, confidence and capacity of self-expression is absent from the curriculum.

Neutral: students' self-esteem, confidence and capacity of self-expression are occasionally promoted.

Constituent 3: Moral Involvement (central – neutral – non-central)

Central: service providers systematically convey a set of values to students, for character building, making judgments, and taking social responsibility.

Non-central: the transmission of a value system is ignored by service providers.

Neutral: the conveyance of a value system is occasional (but not systematic and regular).

Constituent 4: Know-how Acquisition (excellence – neutral – survival)

Excellence: students' performance at their educational stage meets an excellent standard.

Survival: students' performance at their educational stage meets a survivalist standard.

Neutral: a neutral position between two extreme positions above.

Constituent 5: Incentive (central – neutral – non-central)

Central: NGOs provide income generation opportunities for needy students, in order to prevent their dropping-out and to offset their loss through opportunity costs.

Non-central: NGOs provide no income generation opportunities for needy students.

Neutral: NGOs provide only limited opportunities for income generation to a minority of needy students (i.e. the majority of needy students do not get such opportunities).

Constituent 6: Consultative (central – neutral – non-central)

Central: NGOs emphasise consultative provision for students, in order to enable students to take advantage of work values (in the process of both production and socialization) at their workplaces.

Non-central: NGOs provide no consultative activities for students.

Neutral: NGOs provide consultative service for students on a one-off or occasional basis.

Constituent 7: Communication (active – neutral – passive)

Active: there is active communication, conversation and sharing (about information, resources and the needs of projects) among NGO staff on a daily basis.

Passive: there is no communication or sharing among NGO staff on a daily basis.

Neutral: communication and sharing among NGO staff is on a non-regular or occasional basis.

Constituent 8: Information (circulative – neutral – restrictive)

Circulative: information about work and study opportunities is openly circulated to students.

Restrictive: information about work and study opportunities is not open to students.

Neutral: information available to students about work and study opportunities is limited.

Constituent 9: Commercial Practices (central – neutral – non-central)

Central: the NGO has its own business, *and* makes institutional links, in order to improve students' commercial experience.

Non-central: the NGO *neither* has its own business, *nor* makes institutional links, to improve students' commercial experience.

Neutral: the NGO has its own business, *or* makes institutional links, in order to improve students' commercial experience.

Constituent 10: Complementary Projects (welfare – neutral – structural)

Welfare: the NGO's resources are allocated to tangible welfare activities, to deal with other factors affecting students' learning at NGO VE service. For example a students' boarding house, income generation opportunities for students' parents, medical service, day-care centres for younger siblings.

Structural: the NGO's resources are allocated to intangible projects for structural change, such as combating a corruptive environment, lobbying for law enforcement, governmental transparency and accountability.

Neutral: NGO's resources are equally distributed between both welfare activities and structural changes.

Constituent 11: Collaborating Strategy (cooperative – neutral – isolative)

Cooperative: the NGO mobilises resources and evokes support from the semi-supportive relationships with such as central government, other NGOs, aid agencies and the local business sector, i.e. cooperative, horizontal integration.

Isolative: the NGO mobilises resources and evokes support from its own headquarters (HQ, in the case of international NGOs) or international support organisation (SO, in the case of local NGOs), i.e. isolative, vertical integration

Neutral: the NGO claims to take both cooperative and isolative positions.

Constituent 12: Defending Strategy (active –neutral– passive)

Active: actively combating non-supportive relationships with those holding power, such as the police, and sometimes the local authorities and hostile communities.

Passive: no combating or defending action.

Neutral: occasionally take defending action.

Constituent 13: Monitoring Strategy (active –neutral– passive)

Active: NGOs actively (1) detect economic, social and educational opportunities and threats in the national context, (2) research new demands in the labour market and (3) conduct follow-up surveys with graduate students.

Passive: NGOs' monitoring activity (1), (2) or (3) occurs on an occasional or one-off basis.

Neutral: NGOs' monitoring activity (1), (2) or (3) occurs on a regular basis.

8.2.2 Modelling Nine NGO VE Services

Having selected and combined the appropriate constituent attributes for each NGO (as shown in Table 8.1), a conceptual model based on the information matrix depicted in Appendix G was established for each NGO by the computerized practice of DCA. 9 NGO organisational models are presented in the form of diagrams, so as to easily discuss and assess the relative importance of each constituent in 9 models against the effectiveness shown in these models, and against the information concerning their organisational cultures, characteristics and urban situations. As already explained in Section 8.2, internal consistency among the 13 constituents of an NGO model in particular has great implications for the effectiveness of the organisation. The higher its internal consistency, the more effective the NGO VE service. Higher inter-consistency indicates a better-structured VE service whose 13 constituents appear more ordered, adequately emphasised and importantly, better inter-connected with one another. Accordingly, a VE service like this is more effective. The following brackets () indicate the internal consistency rating of each conceptual model of the 9 NGO VE services, by calculating the black arrows in each model (Kontinen and Tight 2002). An ideal model with a rating of 48 will be described and discussed in 8.2.3, which in turn will help point out the relative effectiveness of the 9 NGO VE services. Against the ideal level of 48, NGO₁ (internal consistency = 33), NGO₃ (33), NGO₄ (28) and NGO₇ (29) appear relatively effective. By contrast, NGO₂ (24), NGO₅ (24), NGO₆ (19), NGO₈ (24) and NGO₉ (22) are relatively ineffective. Furthermore, the different internal consistency ratings in the brackets separately representing the organisational effectiveness of the 9 NGOs' will be demonstrated and analysed in the following:

(1) NGO₁ (internal consistency = 33)

Figure 8.1 is the organisational model of the VE service at NGO₁, and the relationships between the attributes characterising NGO₁ are shown in Table 8.2.

Figure 8.1: Organisational model of NGO₁ VE service

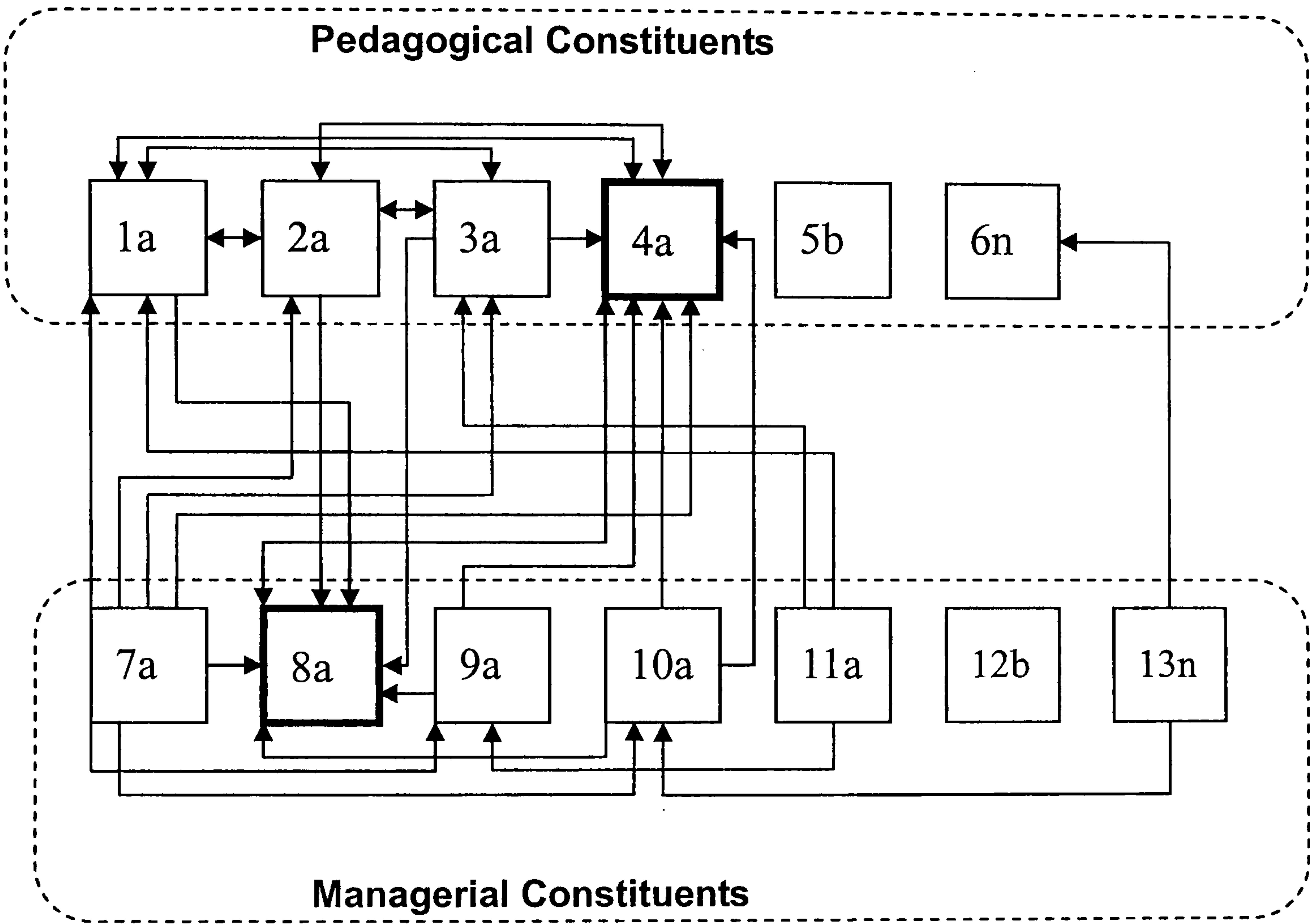


Table 8.2: Constituent (attribute) relations of NGO₁ VE service

1a: Relationship (trustful)	← 2a 3a 4a 7a 10a
2a: Rehabilitation (central)	← 1a 3a 4a 7a
3a: Moral (central)	← 1a 2a 7a 11a
4a: Know-how (excellence)	← 1a 2a 3a 7a 8a 9a 10a 11a
5b: Incentive (non-central)	←
6n: Consultative (neutral)	← 13n
7a: Communication (active)	←
8a: Information (circulative)	← 1a 2a 3a 4a 7a 9a 10a
9a: Commercial (central)	← 7a 11a
10a: Complementary (welfare)	← 7a 13n

11a: Collaborating (cooperative) ←
12b: Defending (passive) ←
13n: Monitoring (neutral) ←

* ‘*A* ← *B*’ means that ‘*Constituent B*’ is considered to have influence upon ‘*Constituent A*’ in question.

NGO₁ shows its emphasis upon almost all constituents and has greater effectiveness (inter-consistency) in providing a VE service to vulnerable young people in Cambodia. As revealed in Figure 8.1, the effectiveness of the VE service very much revolves round the emphasis on the constituents ‘know-how acquisition (4a)’ and ‘information circulation (8a)’. Staff’s active communication about teaching-learning activities (7a) and cooperation with external development partners (11a) directly energise students acquisition of technical knowledge (4a) and develop morality (3a). On the other hand, NGO₁ is the only case that actively disseminates information about jobs to students, and advises students how and where to access information. Students also report that they are given more information, once they make contact and become deeply involved in the on-the-job training in a real business environment (9a) and the other, complementary welfare services available from NGO₁ (10a). Although incentive provision (5b) is ignored by the NGO₁ service providers, drop-out seldom occurs because welfare activities that include a boarding house, mealtime programmes and one-to-one sponsorship are well planned and operate to respond to students’ economic difficulties.

Consultative provision (6n) located in the marginal position is however detached from commercial practices (9a), because it is very much subject to the availability of monitoring volunteers (13n). To deal with external non-supportive relationships, passive conformation rather than defending action (12b) against corruptive governmental officers and community leaders is taken by the leading managers at

NGO₁ and accordingly, this is separated from other constituents. Internally, based on a Catholic order, vocational education at NGO₁ places much emphasis on relationship building (1a), rehabilitation (2a) and the moral involvement (3a) of students. Students take advantage of these three constituents and in turn, this improves their mental stability and the courage needed to acquire technical knowledge and to gather more information in both formal and informal ways. Then informed decisions, as was observed, can be made independently by the graduate students themselves.

(2) NGO₂ (internal consistency = 24)

Figure 8.2 is the organisational model of the VE service at NGO₂. The relationships between the attributes characterising NGO₂ are shown in Table 8.3.

Figure 8.2: Organisational model of NGO₂ VE service

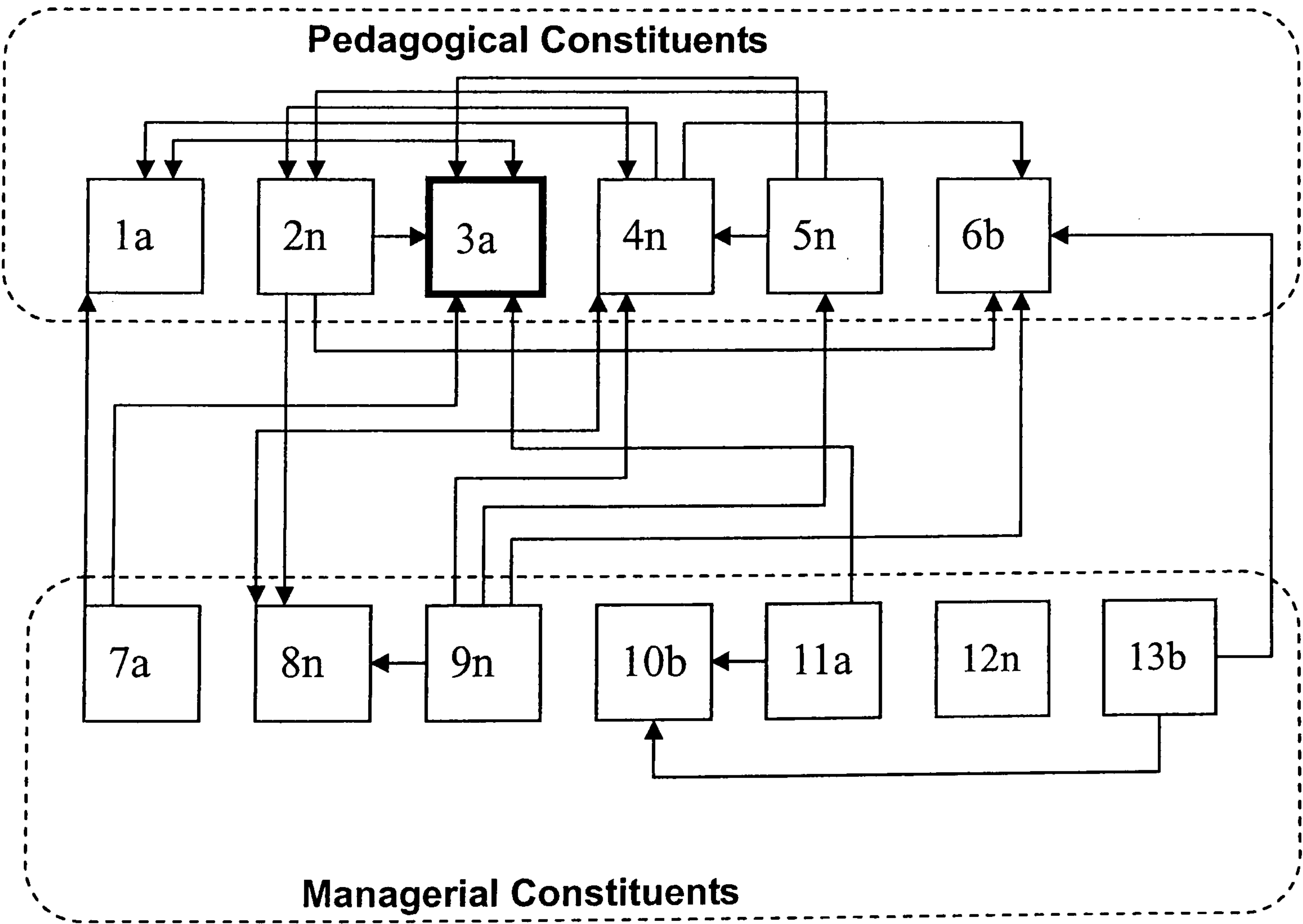


Table 8.3: Constituent (attribute) relations of NGO₂ VE service

1a: Relationship (trustful) ← 3a 4n 7a
2n: Rehabilitation (neutral) ← 4n 5n
3a: Moral (central) ← 1a 2n 5n 7a 11a
4n: Know-how (neutral) ← 2n 5n 8n 9n
5n: Incentive (neutral) ← 9n
6b: Consultative (non-central) ← 2n 4n 9n 13b
7a: Communication (active) ←
8n: Information (neutral) ← 2n 4n 9n
9n: Commercial (neutral) ←
10b: Complementary (structural) ← 11a 13b
11a: Collaborating (cooperative) ←
12n: Defending (neutral) ←
13b: Monitoring (passive) ←

* ‘*A* ← *B*’ means that ‘*Constituent B*’ is considered to have influence upon ‘*Constituent A*’ in question.

Even though NGO₂ is from the same Catholic order as both NGO₁ and NGO₄, interconnections between attributes at NGO₂ are however fewer than in the other two. While NGO₁ and NGO₄ devote major organisational resources to their VE services, NGO₂ focuses on other projects such as the literacy class and primary education for children, rather than on its VE provision. As shown in Figure 8.2 and Table 8.3, the VE service at NGO₂ appears less ordered and thus less effective.

The constituent ‘moral involvement (3a)’, central in the providing mechanism of the VE service at NGO₂, is further reinforced by trustful relationship building (1a), some rehabilitation activities (2n), partial incentive provision (5n), active communication by staff (7a), and cooperation with external stakeholders (11a). Know-how acquisition (4n) is also located in the central position, while students’ learning performance is distant from excellence. As the service providers at NGO₂ explained, this is because students’ basic educational level in Poipet is lower than those in Phnom Penh and

Battambang. In addition, more students in Poipet need to work for money while learning. They appear less motivated to learn and their drop-out rate is high, especially when incentive provision (5n), information circulation (8n) and commercial practices (9n) are limited to them.

Complementary activities are mainly oriented to structural change (10b) and have little direct impact on students' daily learning and relationship development within the NGO. The defending and negotiating capacity of NGO₂ is greater (12n) in order to protect and prevent children in Poipet (a border town between Cambodia and Thailand) from trafficking. The function of defence in this case is however less relevant to the VE service. On the other hand, the development of the VE service at NGO₂ is still in its infancy. Therefore, consultative provision (6b) has been proposed by service providers at NGO₂ as an important constituent, but not yet implemented. The lack of consultative activities goes hand in hand with the lack of monitoring (13b) in NGO₂.

(3) NGO₃ (internal consistency = 33)

Figure 8.3 is the organisational model of the VE service at NGO₃, and the relationships between the attributes characterising NGO₃ are shown in Table 8.4.

Figure 8.3: Organisational model of NGO₃ VE service

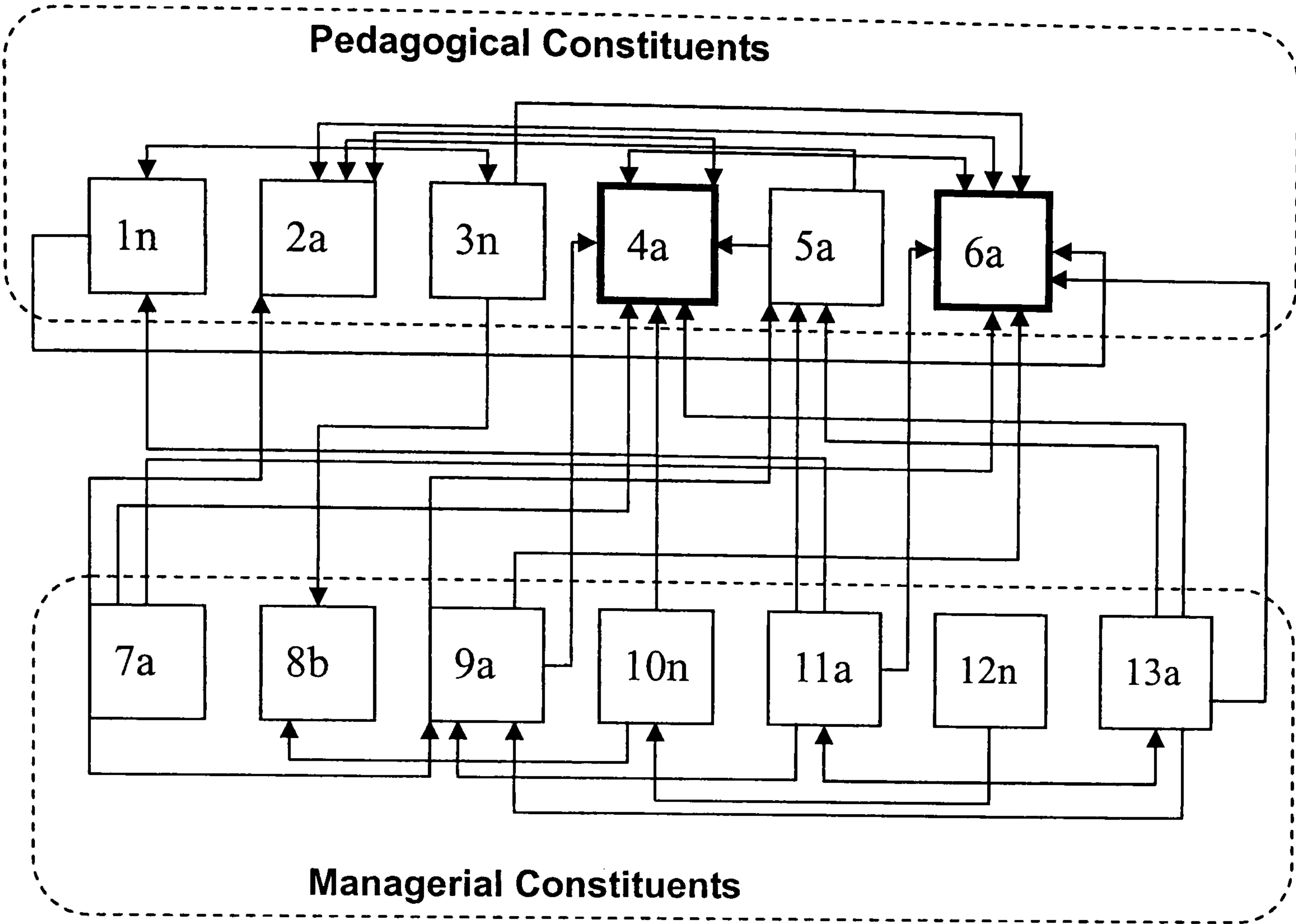


Table 8.4: Constituent (attribute) relations of NGO₃ VE service

1n: Relationship (neutral) ← 3n 10n
2a: Rehabilitation (central) ← 4a 5a 6a 7a
3n: Moral (neutral) ← 1n
4a: Know-how (excellence) ← 2a 5a 6a 7a 9a 11a 13a
5a: Incentive (central) ← 9a 11a 13a
6a: Consultative (central) ← 1n 2a 3n 4a 7a 9a 11a 13a
7a: Communication (active) ←
8b: Information (restrictive) ← 3n 10n
9a: Commercial (central) ← 7a 11a 13a
10n: Complementary (neutral) ← 12n
11a: Collaborating (cooperative) ← 13a
12n: Defending (neutral) ←
13a: Monitoring (active) ← 11a

* ‘A ← B’ means that ‘Constituent B’ is considered to have influence upon ‘Constituent A’ in question.

NGO₃ along with NGO₁ show the highest effectiveness (inter-consistency = 33) in comparison with other cases in the study. NGO₃, like NGO₁, also pays much attention to almost all 13 constituents. Grounded in excellent know-how acquisition (4a) and consultative provision (6a), NGO₃ helps students to take advantage of the values of work and this results in the highest employment rate of graduates. The effect of these two constituents (4a and 6a) in NGO₃ is further strengthened by active communication among staff (7a), the establishment of a wholesome monitoring team (13a), well designed commercial practices (9a) and good cooperative relationships with external resourceful and powerful agents (11a).

The complementary services in this case are oriented towards both welfare services and structural changes (10n). In fact, not all VE students in this case require the supports of shelter and finance to sustain their learning. Many projects at NGO₃ contribute to the living and learning environment of street children and accordingly, the defending action (12n) of NGO₃ is mainly taken to cope with issues concerning those children, rather than on the VE service. Not surprisingly, these two constituents (10n and 12n), as observed in Figure 8.3, are situated in a non-central position.

Information about job opportunities is however restricted to students (8b), because the service providers at NGO₃ claim they need to allocate job vacancies efficiently to all their graduates. Relationship building (1n) and morality development (3n) are not particularly central in the VE curriculum. In contrast, many cultural and artistic activities are arranged in order to reorient and rehabilitate students' self-esteem and confidence (2a). The emphasis on rehabilitation (2a) mutually reinforces the functions of know-how acquisition (4a) and consultative provision (6a). On the other hand, the stress on incentive provision (5a) successfully offsets some students' opportunity costs

for learning at NGO₃ and increases the students’ confidence in themselves.

(4) NGO₄ (internal consistency = 28)

Figure 8.4 is the organisational model of NGO₄ VE service, and the relationships between the attributes characterising NGO₄ are revealed in Table 8.5.

Figure 8.4: Organisational model of NGO₄ VE service

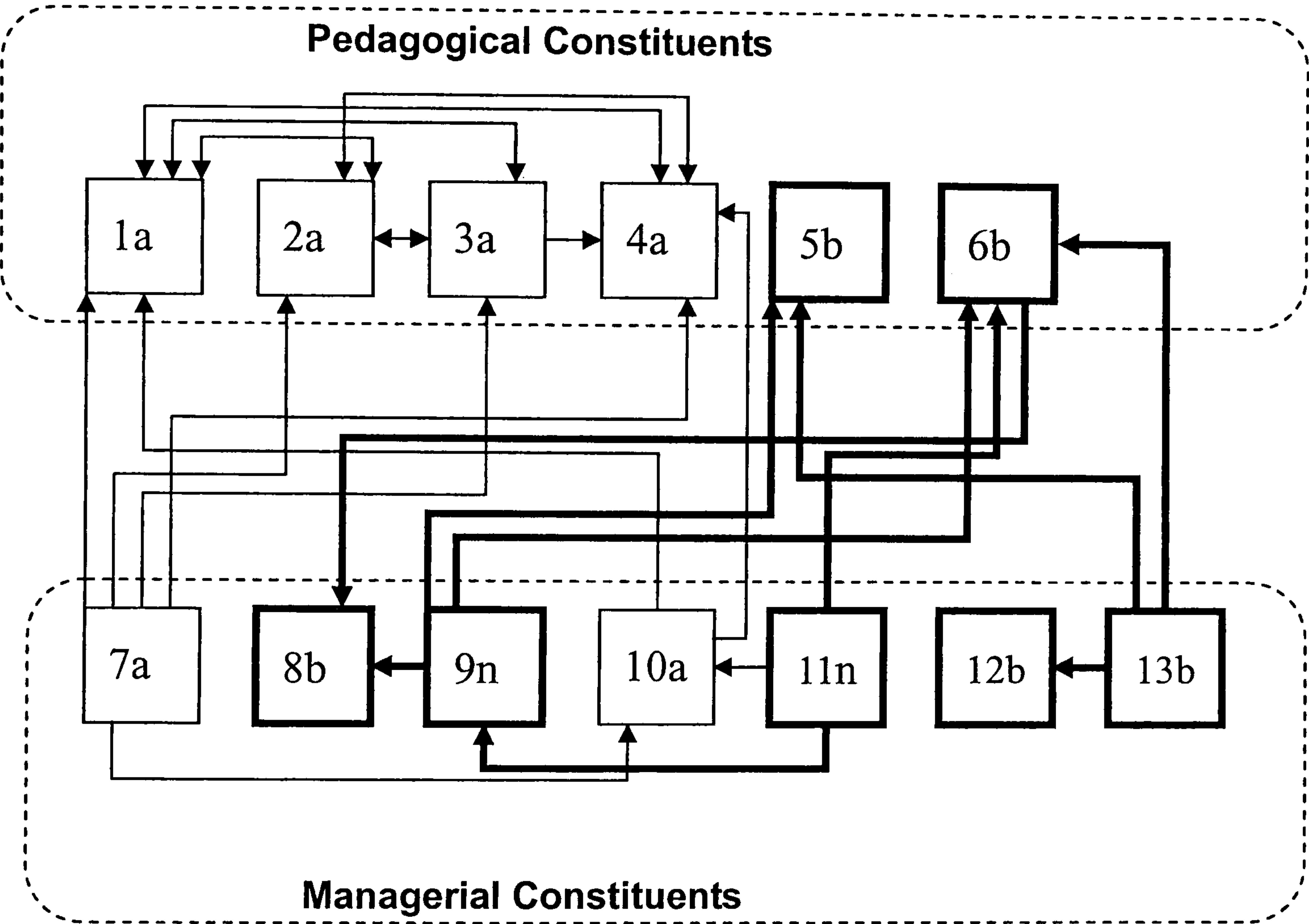


Table 8.5: Constituent (attribute) relations of NGO₄ VE service

1a: Relationship (trustful) ← 2a 3a 4a 7a 10a
2a: Rehabilitation (central) ← 1a 3a 4a 7a
3a: Moral (central) ← 1a 2a 7a
4a: Know-how (excellence) ← 1a 2a 3a 7a 10a
5b: Incentive (non-central) ← 9n 13b
6b: Consultative (non-central) ← 9n 11n 13b
7a: Communication (active) ←

8b: Information (restrictive) ← 6b 9n
9n: Commercial (neutral) ← 11n
10a: Complementary (welfare) ← 7a 11n
11n: Collaborating (neutral) ←
12b: Defending (passive) ← 13b
13b: Monitoring (passive) ←

* ‘*A* ← *B*’ means that ‘*Constituent B*’ is considered to have influence upon ‘*Constituent A*’ in question.

Rather like NGO₁, NGO₄ very much focuses on its students’ technical skills and competence (4a), moral development (3a), relationship restoration (1a), and rehabilitation (2a). Harmonious internal relationships and cooperation among staff (7a) also result in their responding effectively to the above four pedagogic constituents, and when discussing students’ learning performance. A cooperating strategy (11n) to deal with external, semi-supportive stakeholders is addressed as an important enabling factor, being mainly built up for complementary activities (10a) and commercial practices (9n). Nevertheless, NGO₄ service providers acknowledge that they have not yet fully explored the external relationships and resources available in Battambang.

As seen in Figure 8.4, the constituent ‘commercial practices (9n)’ is not central in the VE providing mechanism. Although NGO₄ helps introduce its graduates to their first jobs, resulting in relatively high employment rates, many graduates are actually introduced to jobs other than those for which they have been trained. The shortfall in consultative activities (6b), monitoring function (13b) and defending strategy (12b) provide little help (and a relatively poor service) to graduate students from NGO₄ in their first jobs. The shortage of on-the-job training (9n) is further linked with the restrictions on information at NGO₄ (8b) and on incentive provision (5b), for fear of distracting students from their studies before graduation. These managerial arrangements reflect the fact that the focus of the VE service at NGO₄ is on general

education rather than on vocational training. In other words, the focus is on educating the whole person rather than merely producing sewing workers. This dichotomy is seen in the organisational model of NGO₄ in Figure 8.4. Two parts that are almost separate again confirm my understanding that NGO₄ is proficient in operating at the educational stage (thin lines), but less so in linking education with employment (**bold lines**).

(5) NGO₅ (internal consistency = 24)

Figure 8.5 is the organisational model of the VE service at NGO₅, and the relationships between the attributes characterising NGO₅ are shown in Table 8.6.

Figure 8.5: Organisational model of NGO₅ VE service

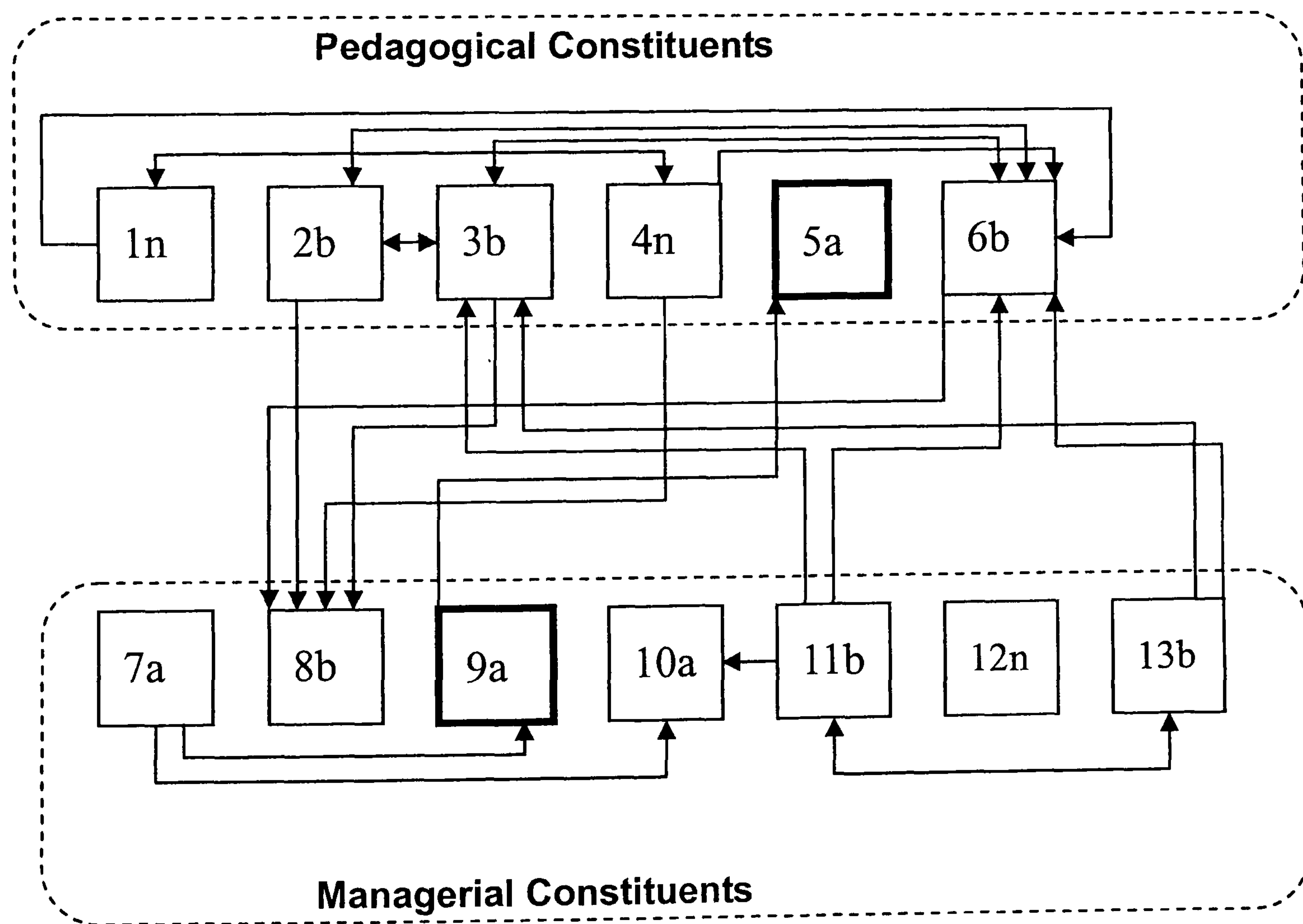


Table 8.6: Constituent (attribute) relations of NGO₅ VE service

1n: Relationship (neutral) ← 4n
2b: Rehabilitation (non-central) ← 3b 6b
3b: Moral (non-central) ← 2b 6b 11b 13b
4n: Know-how (neutral) ← 1n
5a: Incentive (central) ← 9a
6b: Consultative (non-central) ← 1n 2b 3b 4n 11b 13b
7a: Communication (active) ←
8b: Information (restrictive) ← 2b 3b 4n 6b
9a: Commercial (central) ← 7a
10a: Complementary (welfare) ← 7a 11b
11b: Collaborating (isolative) ← 13b
12n: Defending (neutral) ←
13b: Monitoring (passive) ← 11b

* ‘*A* ← *B*’ means that ‘*Constituent B*’ is considered to have influence upon ‘*Constituent A*’ in question.

NGO₅ shows a very typical form of traditional apprenticeship, where the constituents ‘incentive provision (5a)’ and ‘commercial practices (9a)’ function efficiently in their own right. These constituents were emphasised by most of the service providers at NGO₅, but are located in the marginal position of the model (as displayed in Figure 8.5) and hence have little direct influence on other constituents. Due to the limited external relationship building and resource mobilisation (11b), the effective strategy suggested by the leading manager at NGO₅ was to concentrate resources on only two constituents (5a and 9a) rather than on all of them. In this traditional style of apprenticeship, know-how acquisition (4n) and the relationships between students and NGO staff (1n) develop spontaneously, rather than being nurtured in a carefully planned environment of learning and living.

The VE service at NGO₅ is in fact headed by Cambodian staff. As they said in their interviews the staff are used to maintaining some distance from their students, and

given this staff-student relationship information about jobs is restricted rather than open to students (8b). The relationships among staff are harmonious (7a), although their discussion gives less attention to students' learning and living issues. All the students live in simple accommodation (10a) at the back of the training restaurant (the NGO₅ VE service), which is totally self-financing via income from the restaurant rather than being sponsored by external donors (11b). As observed, the second objective of the VE service at NGO₅ to generate income for organisational sustainability outweighs its first objective, which is to empower the students with special regard to students' rehabilitation (2b) and moral development (3b). Also, confined by the finite resources available from the external development partners, monitoring activities (13b) and consultative provision (6b) are heavily reliant on the Cambodian leading manager's personal networks and social relationships in the locality. Strong leadership is to be seen at the NGO₅ VE service. A defending attitude towards the local police was described by the leading manager L11 (12n). L11 sometimes negotiates with the local police who are accustomed to asking for 'coffee money' from NGO₅, and has even 'threatened' the police that NGO₅ could stop operating in Siem Reap and phase out its services. Nonetheless this defence is essentially for the main project at NGO₅, community and village development, rather than for its VE service.

(6) NGO₆ (internal consistency = 19)

Figure 8.6 is the organisational model of the VE service at NGO₆, while the relationships between the attributes characterising NGO₆ are shown in Table 8.7.

Figure 8.6: Organisational model of NGO₆ VE service

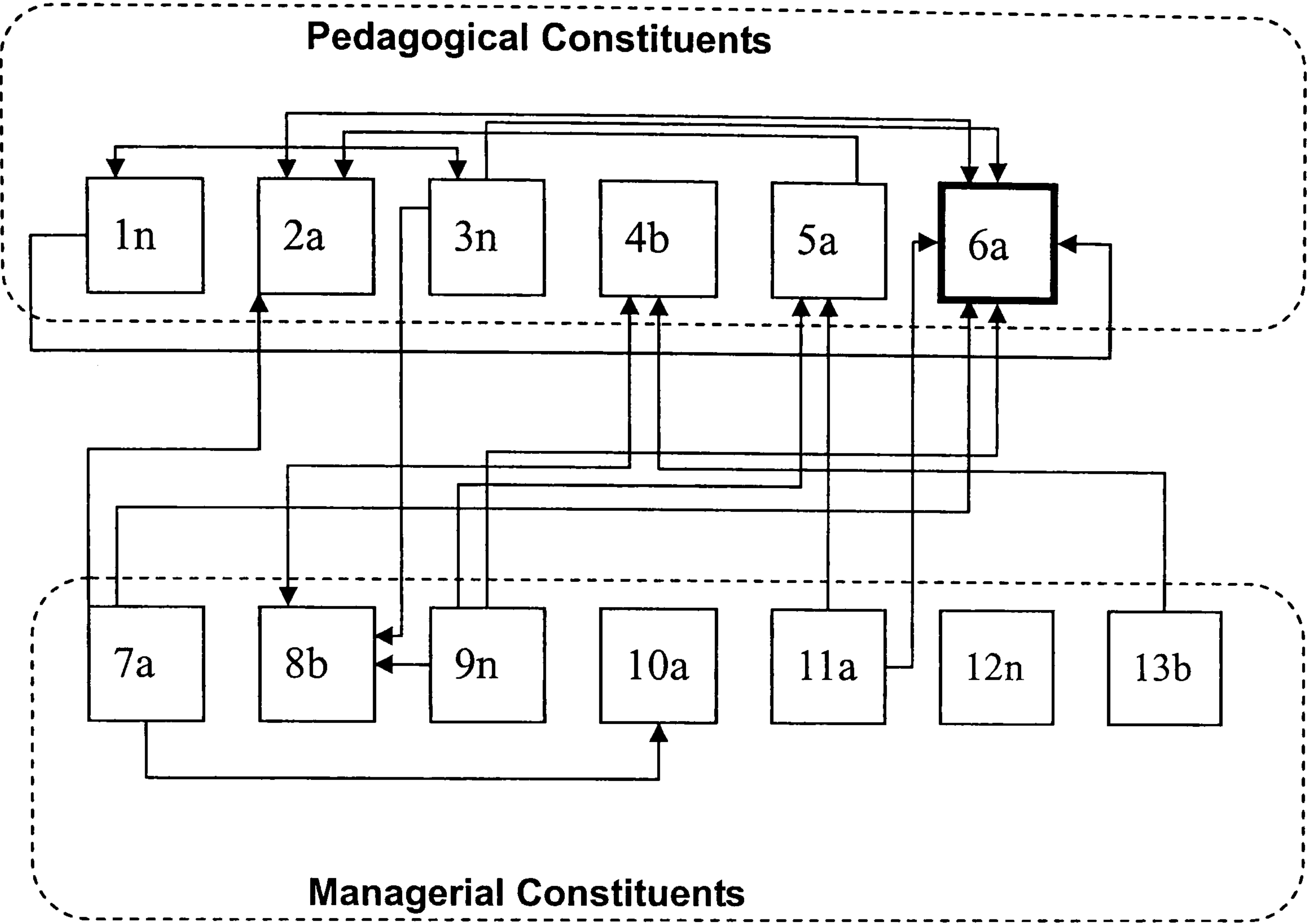


Table 8.7: Constituent (attribute) relations of NGO₆ VE service

1n: Relationship (neutral) ← 3n
2a: Rehabilitation (central) ← 5a 6a 7a
3n: Moral (neutral) ← 1n
4b: Know-how (survival) ← 8b 13b
5a: Incentive (central) ← 9n 11a
6a: Consultative (central) ← 1n 2a 3n 7a 9n 11a
7a: Communication (active) ←
8b: Information (restrictive) ← 3n 4b 9n
9n: Commercial (neutral) ←
10a: Complementary (welfare) ← 7a
11a: Collaborating (cooperative) ←
12n: Defending (neutral) ←
13b: Monitoring (passive) ←

* ‘A ← B’ means that ‘Constituent B’ is considered to have influence upon ‘Constituent A’ in question.

The VE service at NGO₆ (a small water purification plant in Poipet) has the fewest interconnections and is seen to be the most loosely ordered, as shown in Figure 8.6. Consultative provision (6a) appears to be the most important constituent, and stands in central position in the overall model. The emphasis on consultation with students may be traced back to the organisational culture and history of NGO₆. Before its localisation in 2004, NGO₆ was headed by Swiss expatriate workers who placed special emphasis upon staff's communications and capacity building (7a) as well as the rehabilitation of children (2a). Accordingly the psychological aspect of work values is promoted, to help students benefit from both the process of socialisation and productivity at the VE service.

The VE service has been fully self-financed and self-reliant. Incentive provision (5a) was also stressed by the VE service providers at NGO₆, being regarded as an important enabling factor for rehabilitation. The cooperative institutional linkages (11a) along with commercial practices (9n) have been planned to help students learn how to do business and to earn some pocket money (5a). Students' commercial practice (9n) is especially helpful them to increase their understanding and build upon the consultative activities, although students are not introduced to outside employment opportunities. Information on job vacancies is limited to students (8b) and in turn, this makes students less motivated to do well in acquisition of know-how (4b). After graduation, there is no regular follow-up activity such as visiting the graduates, nor is regular monitoring research into the demands of the Poipet labour market apparent (13b). Defending action is occasionally taken (12n) by NGO₆ service providers, such as negotiating with hostile communities and parents who sell or 'rent' their children to work in Thailand.

As a local NGO, a longer communicative distance between the local staff and students could be seen. The relationship between staff and students (1n) and their moral involvement (3n) are not emphasised nor integrated into rehabilitation activities. Having had an overall look at the organisational structure of NGO₆, the VE service is in fact very small and physically isolated from the main projects that seek to reintegrate children back into their communities (10a). The VE service thus is too small (catering only for a maximum of 15 older boys) to have a significant impact upon the hundreds of service beneficiaries in NGO₆.

(7) NGO₇ (internal consistency = 29)

Figure 8.7 is the organisational model of the VE service at NGO₇, while the relationships between the attributes characterising NGO₇ are shown in Table 8.8.

Figure 8.7: Organisational model of NGO₇ VE service

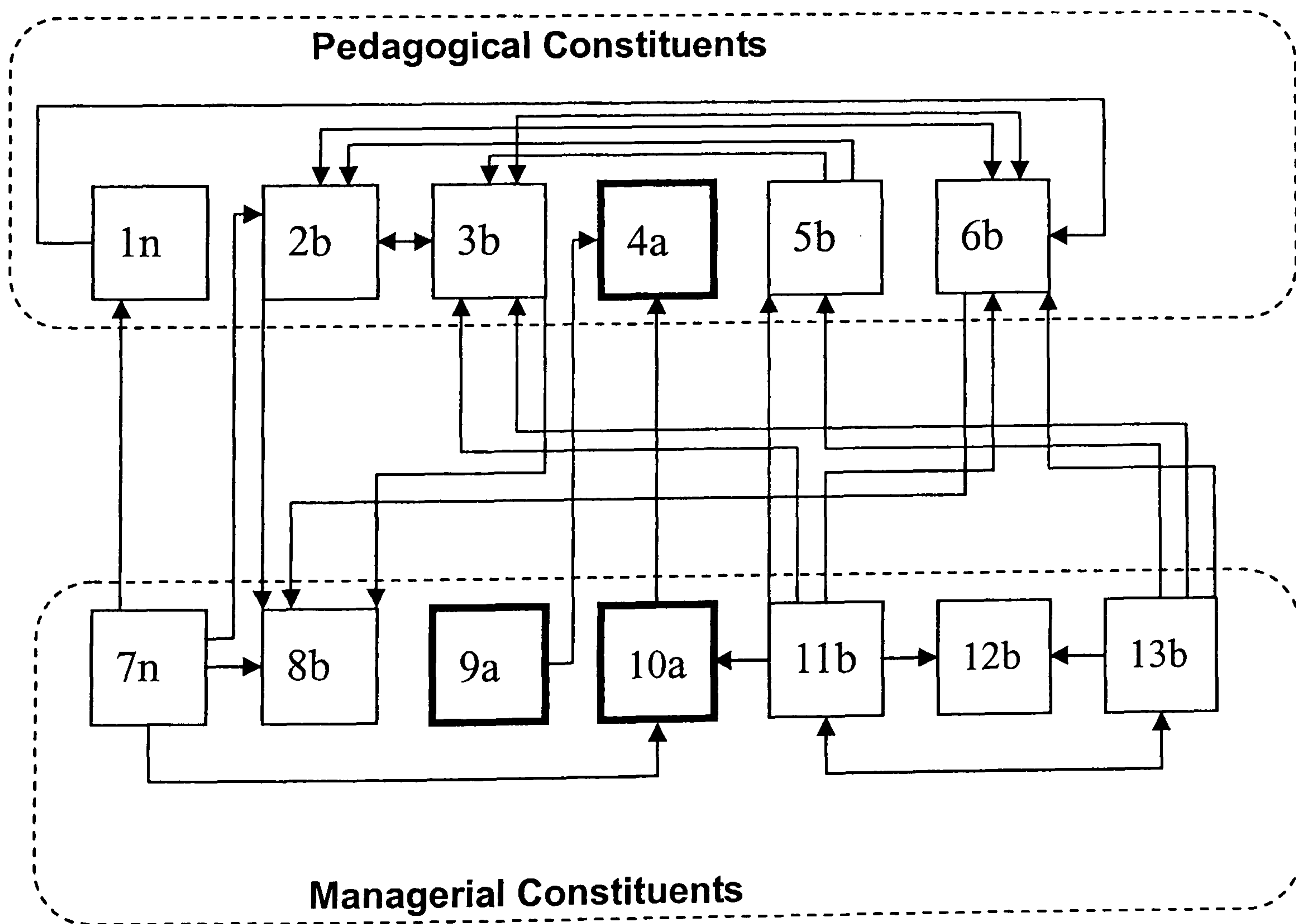


Table 8.8: Constituent (attribute) relations of NGO₇ VE service

1n: Relationship (neutral) ← 7n
2b: Rehabilitation (non-central) ← 3b 5b 6b 7n
3b: Moral (non-central) ← 2b 5b 6b 11b 13b
4a: Know-how (excellence) ← 9a 10a
5b: Incentive (non-central) ← 11b 13b
6b: Consultative (non-central) ← 1n 2b 3b 11b 13b
7n: Communication (neutral) ←
8b: Information (restrictive) ← 2b 3b 6b 7n
9a: Commercial (central) ←
10a: Complementary (welfare) ← 7n 11b
11b: Collaborating (isolative) ← 13b
12b: Defending (passive) ← 11b 13b
13b: Monitoring (passive) ← 11b

* ‘*A* ← *B*’ means that ‘*Constituent B*’ is considered to have influence upon ‘*Constituent A*’ in question.

NGO₇ and NGO₅, respectively attached to a Japanese support organisation (SO) and Japanese headquarters (HQ), were found to have similar managerial ideas about providing VE services. The self-reliance of their VE services (i.e. the car repair workshop at NGO₇ and training restaurant at NGO₅) is prioritised and their financial independence from the SO and HQ promoted. Given the finite annual budgets of VE services in these NGOs, only few constituents can be resourced. As depicted in Figure 8.7, NGO₇ essentially stresses the individual functions of know-how acquisition (4a), commercial practice (9a) and welfare services such as boarding house and meal provision (10a) that are complementary to students’ learning activities. These three constituents are not only emphasised but are also connected with one another at NGO₇.

In Figure 8.7, the central position of students’ poor moral development (3b),

rehabilitation (2b), consultative provision (6b) and information restriction (8b) in the overall providing mechanism indicates the less positive result in empowerment to meet students' psycho-social needs. As a local NGO influenced to a certain extent from its Japanese SO, the hierarchical culture and attitudes could be observed in Cambodian staff's relationships and communications (7n) and the relationship between students and staff (1n). On the other side, entrance to study in the VE service at NGO₇ is competitive and accordingly, students on average have a higher educational level with a better socio-economic background. Although incentives are not offered to students (5b), drop-out is rarely reported. Students from other provinces settle down and live inside the NGO (10a), so as to mitigate their living costs in Phnom Penh where NGO₇ is located. Although managerial linkage between students' education and their employment was not found, the employment rate of graduate students is high. The organisational model of VE service at NGO₇ could be considered as context-appropriate, as the service is located in a prosperous urban area where the economic activity and job opportunities are better (as in Phnom Penh). However, the organisation's poor capacity to deal with external relationships (11b, 12b and 13b) make the VE service at NGO₇ vulnerable to the macro economic environment, which may in the future undermine its record of relatively high employment.

(8) NGO₈ (internal consistency = 24)

Figure 8.8 is the organisational model of the VE service at NGO₈, while the relationships between the attributes characterising NGO₈ are specified in Table 8.9.

Figure 8.8: Organisational model of NGO₈ VE service

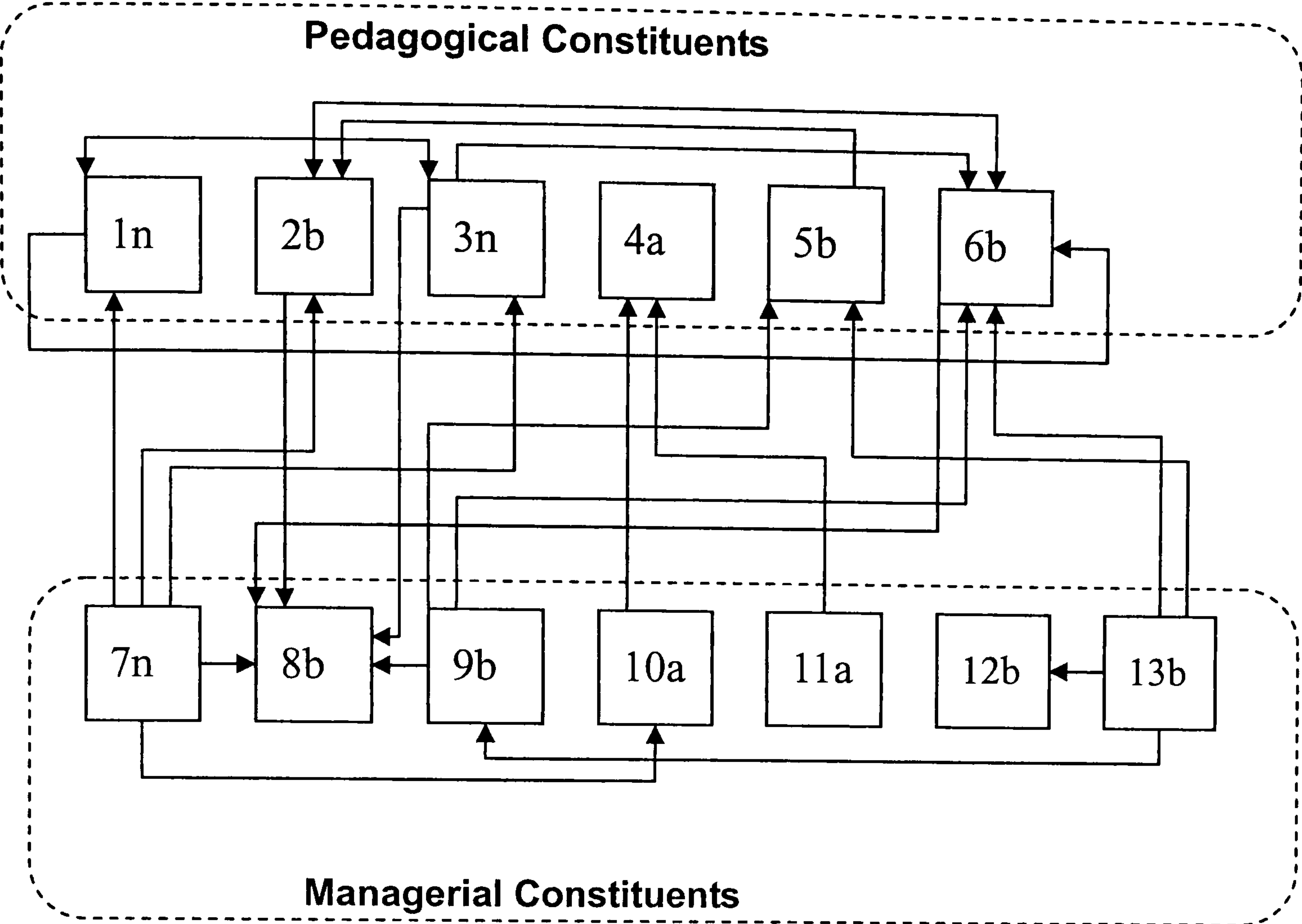


Table 8.9: Constituent (attribute) relations of NGO₈ VE service

1n: Relationship (neutral) ← 3n 7n
2b: Rehabilitation (non-central) ← 5b 6b 7n
3n: Moral (neutral) ← 1n 7n
4a: Know-how (excellence) ← 10a 11a
5b: Incentive (non-central) ← 9b 13b
6b: Consultative (non-central) ← 1n 2b 3n 9b 13b
7n: Communication (neutral) ←
8b: Information (restrictive) ← 2b 3n 6b 7n 9b
9b: Commercial (non-central) ← 13b
10a: Complementary (welfare) ← 7n
11a: Collaborating (cooperative) ←
12b: Defending (passive) ← 13b
13b: Monitoring (passive) ←

* ‘A ← B’ means that ‘Constituent B’ is considered to have influence upon ‘Constituent A’ in question.

The VE service at NGO₈ (i.e. a private English and computing school) has a good reputation in the region for its teaching activities and the excellent performance of its students. The constituent ‘know-how acquisition (4a)’ is well designed and supported by ‘complementary welfare services (10a)’, such as a supplementary system of recruiting long-term, able voluntary teachers, and ‘cooperative relationship (11a)’ with other development actors, e.g. NGOs and churches, to sponsor and provide updated teaching and learning materials. Students’ relationship building (1n) and moral development (3n) are also encouraged by the leading managers at NGO₈, despite the fact that these constituents are not explicitly introduced in the formal curriculum. Rather, they are gently developed throughout informal daily conversation and the interaction between young, committed NGO staff and their students. Staff communication in the field office is harmonious under strong leadership, while there remains some disagreement about how and for whom to provide a service between the overseas headquarters (HQ) and the field office of NGO₈ (7n).

NGO₈ is an international service, headed by a couple who are Christian missionaries, and has a clear evangelist vision. The service might be considered as effective, regarding the implementation of the VE service as being largely consistent with the overall evangelist vision of NGO₈. Two organisational agendas as observed are embedded in the VE service. One is to generate income in support of the evangelist activities, while the other is to encourage students to explore Christianity. In truth, evangelism is an important hidden agenda in its teaching-learning activities, and therefore, further consultation (6b) and information on jobs and study opportunities (8b) in the central position of the model (as seen in Figure 8.8) are given particularly to nurture those minor students who show an interest in the Christian faith. Apart from those, NGO₈ neither offers on-the-job training nor does it introduce graduate students

to their first jobs (9b). Except for the minor students mentioned above, NGO₈ pays little attention to linking major students' education and employment (2b, 5b, 6b, 8b) or to following up graduates (13b). No defending strategy for dealing with non-supportive external relationships is seen on the chart, either (12b).

(9) NGO₉ (internal consistency = 22)

Figure 8.9 is the organisational model of the VE service at NGO₉, while the relationships between the attributes characterising NGO₉ are also shown in Table 8.10.

Figure 8.9: Organisational model of NGO₉ VE service

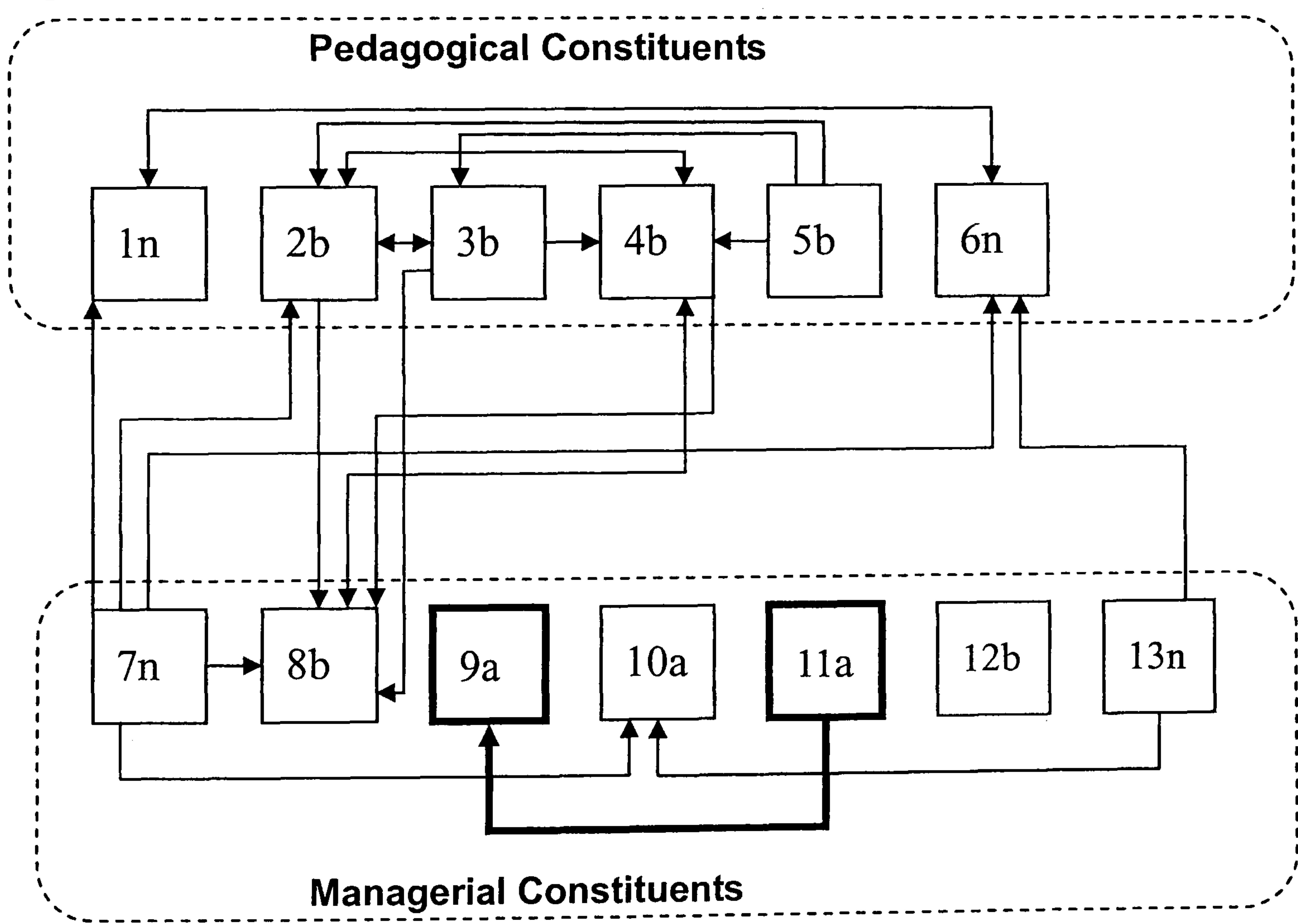


Table 8.10: Constituent (attribute) relations of NGO₉ VE service

1n: Relationship (neutral) ← 6n 7n
2b: Rehabilitation (non-central) ← 3b 4b 5b 7n
3b: Moral (non-central) ← 2b 5b
4b: Know-how (survival) ← 2b 3b 5b 8b
5b: Incentive (non-central) ←
6n: Consultative (neutral) ← 1n 7n 13n
7n: Communication (neutral) ←
8b: Information (restrictive) ← 2b 3b 4b 7n
9a: Commercial (central) ← 11a
10a: Complementary (welfare) ← 7n 13n
11a: Collaborating (cooperative) ←
12b: Defending (passive) ←
13n: Monitoring (neutral) ←

* ‘*A* ← *B*’ means that ‘*Constituent B*’ is considered to have influence upon ‘*Constituent A*’ in question.

The organisational model of NGO₉ appears the most fragmented, when compared with the other 8 cases in the study. The whole model as shown in Figure 8.9 is broken into three segments. The fragmental segments might reflect the nature of the VE service at NGO₉ that seeks to provide services over a wide geographic area, to communities scattered across the district. Because of this, a number of difficulties in coordinating resources among different projects and supervising VE classes across different communities were reported.

Based on the idea of ‘community development’, NGO₉ is seen to be good at communicating with local elites and community leaders in the surrounding area (11a), and encouraging its students into self-employment as well as creating job opportunities for the graduates from its training restaurant (9a). Nevertheless, that self-employment fails to link with consultative provision (6n) and monitoring strategy (13n), due to the high mobility of self-employed graduates. The poorer function of

consultative provision (6n) is further maintained by the neutral relationships (1n) and staff communications (7n). Rehabilitation (2b) and moral involvement (3b) are absent from the VE curriculum. The lack of incentives provision (5b) and information restriction (8b) also contribute to the high drop-out and lower learning performance of students (4b). Many complementary welfare projects (10a), such as construction and support of primary schools and well drilling, are generated, according to the monitoring results. Those piecemeal and ad-hoc projects however play little part in improving information flows (8b), nor sustain the VE students' acquisition of technical knowledge (4b) as other NGOs do. As a local NGO, it conforms to the expectations of community leaders and local elites rather than using a defending strategy (12b) in the process of implementing projects in communities within the district.

8.2.3 Further Application and Possible Limitations

Further Application to Organisational Change for Greater Effectiveness --

The DCA modelling method, as tested and demonstrated in 8.2.2, has been useful for illuminating the 9 case studies in a systematic and holistic way. Having confirmed my understanding of the current organisational characteristics and culture of 9 NGO VE services, this section will make some suggestions about organisational change in order for these institutions to improve their effectiveness.

Suggestions for possible organisational change could be made if the re-modelling is further applied, e.g. re-modelling NGO₆ and NGO₉, by replacing their 4b with 4n. In other words, by emphasising and paying more attention to certain key constituent(s) in each case, their attribute combination and constituent relations will be accordingly changed, and the inter-consistency (i.e. ‘interconnectedness’ of the 13 managerial and pedagogic constituents of a NGO VE service) will be consequently increased, with direct implications for improved effectiveness of the service.

Table 8.11: The inter-consistency of 9 NGO VE services and their NGO features

	NGO ₁	NGO ₂	NGO ₃	NGO ₄	NGO ₅	NGO ₆	NGO ₇	NGO ₈	NGO ₉
Inter-consistency (Effectiveness)	33	24	33	28	24	19	29	24	22
NGO features*	I. R. PNH	I. R. Poipet	L. S. PNH	I. R. B	I. S. SR	L. S. Poipet	L. S. PNH	I. R. B	L. R. Poipet

*I= international NGO; L= local NGO; R= religious NGO; S= secular NGO.

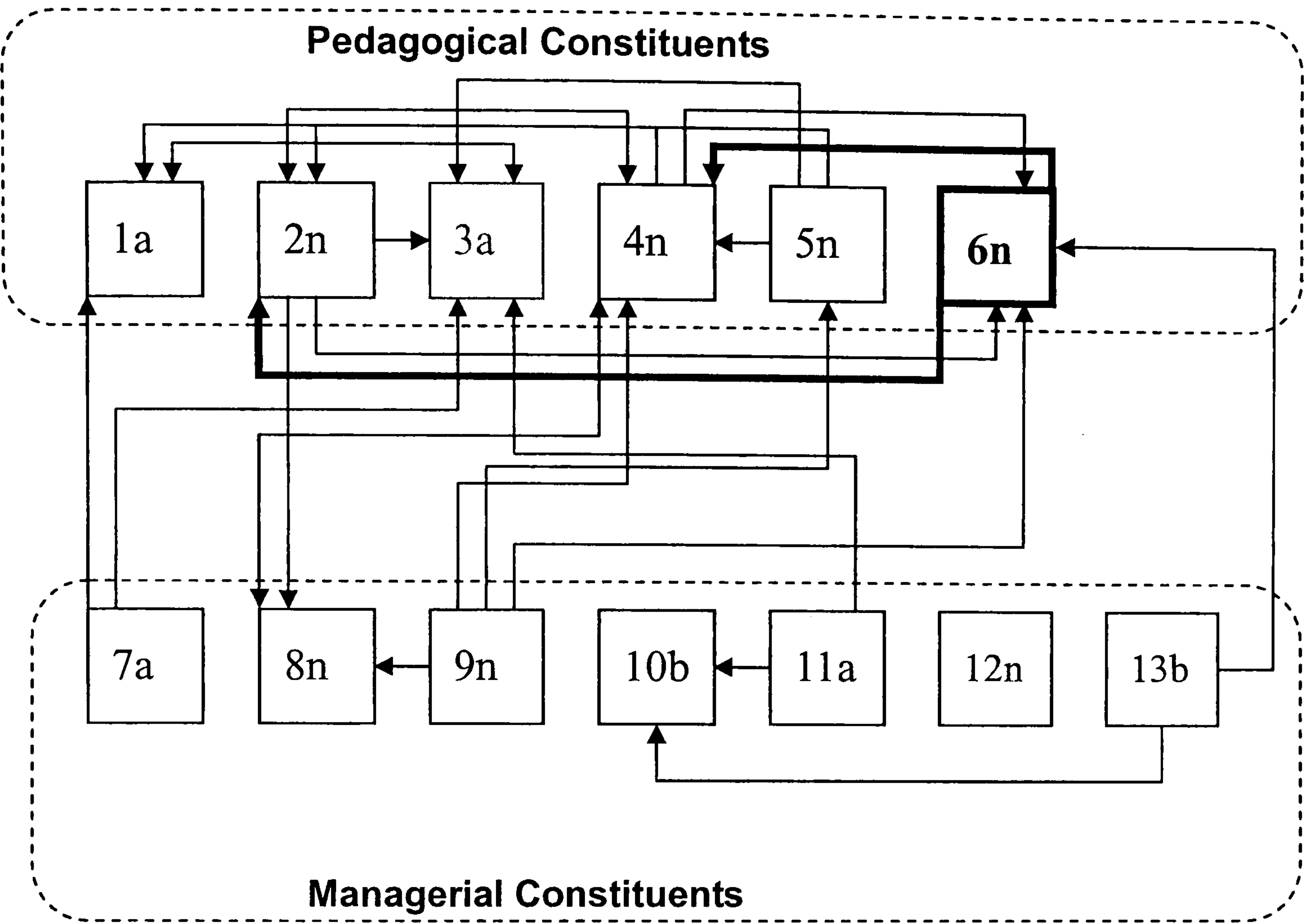
4 urban areas: Phnom Penh (PNH), Poipet, Battambang (B), Siem Reap (SR)

As shown in Table 8.11, the inter-consistencies of the 9 NGO VE services are by and large in response to their employment rates shown in Table 6.3 (in Chapter 6, page

159). The DCA modelling result indicates that the effectiveness of NGO VE services in Cambodia seems related less to the debate over whether international NGOs or local NGOs play a more effective role in VE intervention (Pratt 2003). It also relates less to the argument about whether religious NGOs or secular NGOs provide a better VE service (Bornstein 2005). Rather, it matters more to the question of just which constituents the NGOs do emphasise, and the degree of their emphasis. By calculating the total connections of each constituent within the 9 models as a group the results show that some constituents, such as ‘defending strategy’, seem to play a good tactical role and have a good functional purpose in their own right, but in fact have fewer connections to other constituents and contribute less to the overall strategy of NGO VE intervention. NGOs, as suggested by service providers from NGO₁, NGO₄, NGO₇ and NGO₉ of the case study, are restricted by being smaller in size when compared with other development partners, and thus remain vulnerable and difficult to defend. In contrast, five constituents are found to be most central to effectiveness. They are ‘the consultative’ (inter-connection = 41), ‘know-how acquisition’ (inter-connection = 35), ‘information circulation’ (inter-connection = 34), ‘rehabilitation’ (inter-connection = 30) and ‘moral involvement’ (inter-connection = 27).

Figure 8.10: The re-modelling of NGO₂ VE service

(inter-consistency after re-modelling = 26)



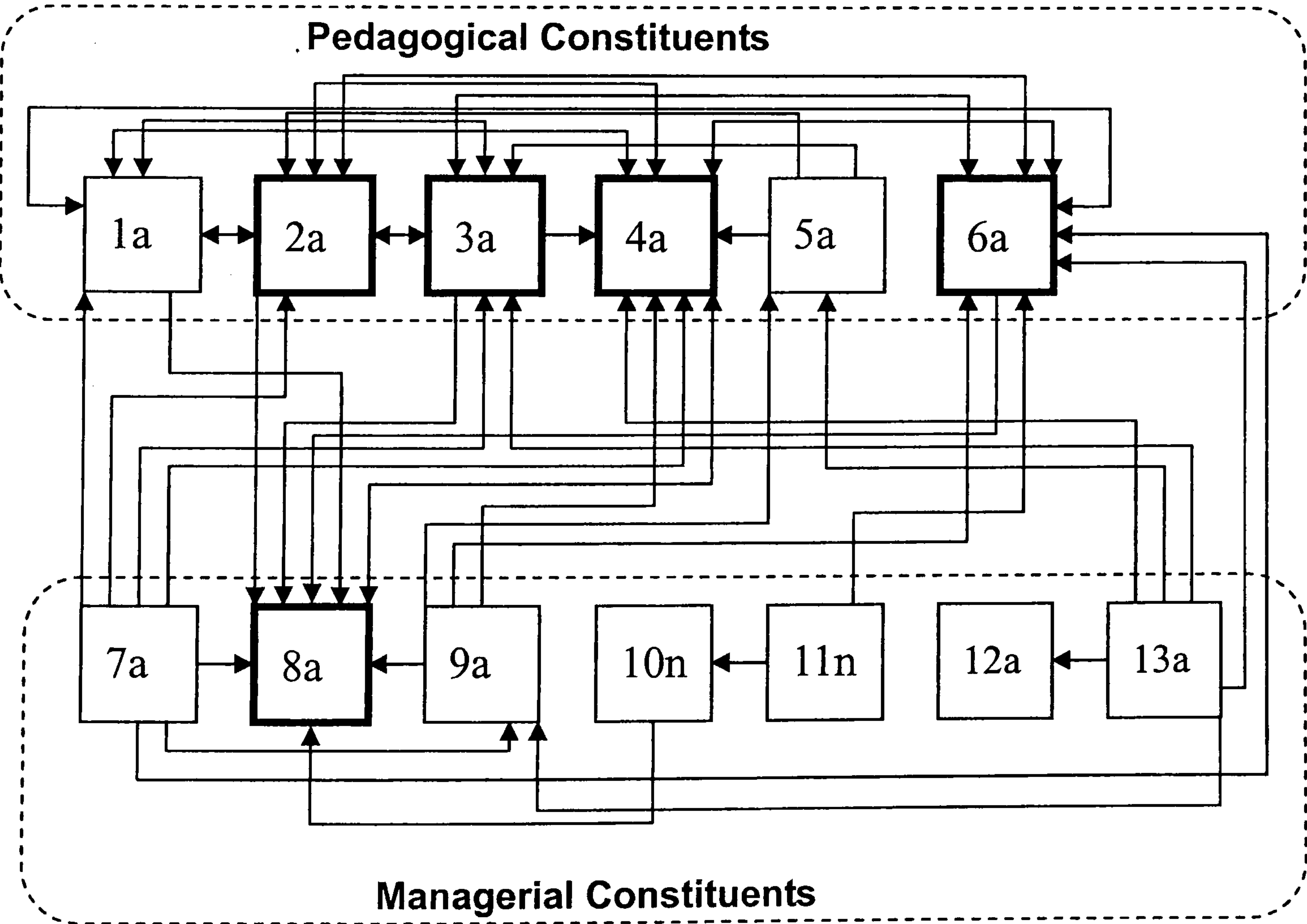
As exemplified in Figure 8.10, the constituent relations of NGO₂ increase from 24 (before re-modelling) to 26 (after re-modelling). This is because after re-modelling, one constituent ‘the consultative’ receives greater emphasis, moving from 6b to 6n, and accordingly the inter-consistency of NGO₂ becomes incremental.

Table 8.12: The inter-consistency before and after re-modelling of 9 NGO VE services

	NGO ₁	NGO ₂	NGO ₃	NGO ₄	NGO ₅	NGO ₆	NGO ₇	NGO ₈	NGO ₉
Inter-consistency (Before re-modelling)	33	24	33	28	24	19	29	24	22
Inter-consistency (after re-modelling)	44 (6n to 6a)	26 (6b to 6n)	35 (8b to 8n)	35 (6b to 6a)	26 (2b to 2n)	22 (4b to 4n)	30 (8b to 8a)	26 (2b to 2n)	23 (4b to 4n)

Other examples may be observed in Table 8.12. However, some caution is found necessary when directing organizational change, if for example a comparison between NGO₆ (inter-consistency from 19 to 22) and NGO₉ (from 22 to 23) is made in Table 8.12. The increases in inter-consistencies of both NGOs are uneven. The increase and change at NGO₆ appears greater than at NGO₉. This also could imply that when the same constituent is emphasized, e.g. from ‘4b’ to ‘4n’, the change of the overall providing strategy of one NGO may not be as effective and beneficial as at another. Before planning any changes, more attention needs be given to analyzing and understanding the different attribute combinations and relations of different NGOs.

Figure 8.11: The ‘ideal-type’ model of an NGO VE service in Cambodia
(inter-consistency = 48)



At last, Figure 8.11 illustrates the ideal level of effectiveness. Having first emphasised all the 13 managerial and pedagogical constituents (found in Chapter 6 and 7), an ‘ideal-type’ model is then established on the basis of the information matrix portrayed in Appendix G by the computerised practice of DCA. As drawn in Figure 8.11, five constituents (i.e. 2a, 3a, 4a, 6a and 8a) emerge in the central position of the model. The connections of each of these five constituents in the ‘ideal-type’ model are particularly high. Accordingly these five are found to be most critical to effectiveness, the same as the result of calculating the total connections of each constituent within the 9 ‘real’ models as a group (as mentioned earlier in this section). When the ‘real’ models of the 9 NGO VE services are examined (in 8.2.2) and possible organisational changes in the 9 models for their greater effectiveness are applied (in 8.2.3), the ‘ideal-type’ model of an NGO VE service in Cambodia might provide each of the NGOs in the case study with some concrete criteria against which to evaluate themselves.

Possible Limitations of DCA Modelling Approach

Although the DCA modelling approach has proven valuable for indicating the direction of organisational development, and to identify possible improvements for each of the VE providing mechanisms in the case study, some simplification issues emerging in the operational process of modelling their effectiveness need be addressed and challenged by future studies.

The first issue is the risk taken when simplifying the relationship between effectiveness and inter-consistency, especially when different locations such as urban areas are taken into consideration. For example, graduate students from NGO₇

currently experience less difficulty finding employment in the labour market of Phnom Penh where the economic environment is relatively prosperous. Nevertheless, NGO₇ would not enjoy the current high employment rates and its VE service could not be regarded as effective (inter-consistency = 29), if it were located in an urban area of Cambodia other than Phnom Penh. This is because NGO₇ lacks the managerial mechanism to link students' education with their employment. By comparison, the model of NGO₄ with a similar inter-consistency (28) tells a rather different story about effectiveness in Battambang. More graduate students of NGO₄ than those of NGO₇ are empowered, in terms of the pedagogical emphasis upon both personality development and social responsibility. However, graduates of NGO₄ in Battambang are less often introduced to jobs of the type for which they have been trained.

The next issue is that using DCA to reflect systematically upon the researcher's subjective understanding might be at the expense of a simplified interpretation of the qualitative data. There must be a more comprehensive explanation to distinguish the NGO inter-consistency results caused by the different attributes of a constituent (e.g. different results separately made from *central*, *neutral* and *non-central* attributes of the same constituent 'moral involvement'). Besides, the DCA programme only permits a maximum of three attributes to characterise a constituent, while the diverse characteristics of a constituent might not be fully covered by only three levels; this could cause some loss of depth in the qualitative data.

The third question is about the implications of DCA modelling for the relationship between inter-consistency and resources, i.e. for cost-effectiveness. Deduced from the comparative analysis of the models, a plausible relationship is found indicating that the lower the inter-consistency of a model, the more resources are wasted. If we take a

look at the models of NGO₅ and NGO₇ in Figures 8.5 and 8.7 respectively, about half of their constituents are characterised as ‘non-central’ attributes. Their inter-consistencies (24 and 29 respectively) arise largely from the connection numbers of ‘non-central’ attributes. In reality, these two NGOs effectively concentrate their limited resources on a few selected constituents, and seek to make ‘some’ rather than ‘all’ constituents effective. In comparison, NGO₆ and NGO₉ (whose inter-consistencies are 19 and 22 respectively) are reported to produce more resource redundancy and waste, while both NGOs emphasize more constituents than do NGO₅ and NGO₇. The comparative analysis of the modelling results suggests that with less inter-consistency, more resources are wasted and cost-effectiveness is harder to achieve. But after all that, and despite the fact that the simplification issues mentioned above are open to further study and exploration of DCA in use, my findings concerning DCA modelling appear to be responsive and compatible with the observation and discussion in the previous two chapters of explorative findings. This in turn reinforces the benefits of adopting the DCA approach, as was argued at the beginning of this section (8.2).

8.3 Scrutinising Effectiveness: Follow-up Survey on Graduates' Learning Outcomes

As explained in Chapter Five (Methodology), this section will analyse and discuss the follow-up data collected in the second fieldwork period, which took place during January-March 2007. Copies of a mini questionnaire (as in Appendix F) were distributed to 69 original students from NGO₁ and NGO₂, and 67 valid copies were returned. The 69 students (57 from NGO₁ and 12 from NGO₂) were those who had participated in my semi-structured interviews in the first fieldwork period, during January-March 2006. They were studying at the NGOs' VE services in 2006, but had been graduates for six months by the time of the 2007 survey. Thus in statistical terms, the sample size is equivalent to the population in this structured interview.

To further supplement and explain the quantitative findings derived from the mini questionnaire, qualitative evidence was gathered by direct observation of the graduate students' workplaces. By doing so, the relative importance of both managerial and pedagogic constituents from the service users' perspective could be further identified. In this section I shall first describe the data collection and response, in order to reveal the changes in students' lives and employment after graduation, e.g. salary, work location, position occupied. Secondly, the findings of the relationship between pedagogic and managerial constituents and the graduate students' work performance will be discussed. By so doing, the effectiveness of NGOs' intervention (especially both NGO₁ and NGO₂) in vocational education could be scrutinized. Further inferences about effectiveness will be made and drawn to a conclusion in 8.4.

8.3.1 Data Collection and Responses to the Study

Direct Observation –

In my second fieldwork period, I observed the workplaces of 31 graduate students (29 in Phnom Penh and 2 in Poipet). As listed in Table 8.13, (1)-(5) show the reasons why it was not possible to make successful visits to the remaining workplaces. Direct observation in each case normally took up to one hour, but in some extended to two hours. While working within the objectives of the observation (as in Appendix E), I sought carefully to minimize any disturbance and intrusion caused by my presence. Graduate students and their colleagues understood me to be a volunteer teacher sent by leading managers to conduct follow-up monitoring work, and the NGOs’ leading managers had agreed to introduce me in that way. The results of this observation helped me to further verify the responses to the questionnaire, and threw much light upon the main quantitative findings in 8.3.2.

Table 8.13: Direct observation of 69 graduates’ workplaces

Graduate students:	NGO ₁ in Phnom Penh	NGO ₂ in Poipet	Total
(1) worked in other provinces.	13	0	13
(2) worked out of offices.	3	0	3
(3) refused the visit.	9	0	9
(4) were unemployed.	2	9	11
(5) were not found.	1	1	2
Workplaces visited successfully	29	2	31
Total	57	12	69

Questionnaire (Structured Interview)

The questionnaire (as in Appendix F) contains basic information, ten closed questions and one open question. The basic information was to help detect any changes in the lives of these 69 graduate students, while **Q1-Q11** were designed with regard to the students’ perceptions about their own employment and empowerment after graduation.

67 out of 69 interviewees (graduate students) returned their questionnaires. Among those 67, 56 came from NGO₁ and 11 from NGO₂. Only one in each NGO was absent from the questionnaire survey. From Table 8.14, the gender ratio of female to male was 59 to 8. Since gender is not central to this study, further exploration and discussion about the comparison between female and male students may be expected in future research.

Table 8.14: Gender

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid female	59	88.1	88.1	11.9
male	8	11.9	11.9	100.0
Total	67	100.0	100.0	

The majority of the 67 graduates were aged between 21 and 25. Only two graduates from NGO₁ were older (26 and 29 years) as shown in Table 8.15.

Table 8.15: Age group

	(Years old)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20 and below	5	7.5	7.5	7.5
	21-25	60	89.6	89.6	97.0
	25 and above	2	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	

Notably, as the result of the follow-up survey indicates, 9 out of the total 11 interviewees from NGO₂ had been unemployed since graduation. Therefore my findings in relation to VE graduates’ working performance in 8.3.2 are derived mainly from the responses of NGO₁ graduate students. The number employed and unemployed is shown clearly in Table 8.16.

Table 8.16: Employment population

	NGO ₁	NGO ₂
Unemployment	2	9
Full-time employment	46	2
Part-time employment	8	0
Total	56	11

I also found that although only one quarter of all the NGO₁ interviewees came originally from Phnom Penh, 73.2% of them (as shown in Table 8.17) had decided to stay and work in Phnom Penh rather than going back to their home provinces.

Table 8.17: Location of workplaces

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Phnom Penh	41	73.2	73.2	73.2
	Other Provinces	13	23.2	23.2	96.4
	Unemployment	2	3.5	3.5	100.0
	Total	56	100.0	100.0	

In the first year of employment, the monthly salary reported by the interviewees was generally something between 51-100 US dollars, as seen in Table 8.18. Some interviewees however complained that the basic living expenses in Phnom Penh, including rent, transport, food and so on, cost them about 50 USD per month.

Table 8.18: Monthly income

	(USD)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	50 and below	11	19.6	19.6	19.6
	51-100	29	51.8	51.8	71.4
	101-150	12	21.4	21.4	92.8
	151-200	2	3.6	3.6	96.4
	201-250	2	3.6	3.6	100.0
	Total	56	100.0	100.0	

Most graduate students expressed an interest in pursuing further study. From experience when applying for jobs, they found that educational certificates and qualifications are becoming more important to employers in Cambodia and result directly in a higher salary at the outset of a career. 18 interviewees could already afford to invest in further study (mainly, an evening class at university or private school). Seven interviewees were studying English, eight were studying for a Bachelor’s degree in Accountancy, one in Law, and two were learning to be beauticians. As listed in Table 8.19, the interviewees could also be characterized and categorized in terms of their occupation position. From their questionnaire responses most occupied a position with duties consistent with what they had been trained for, at the VE service in NGO₁.

Table 8.19: Occupation position

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Unemployment	2	3.6	3.6	3.6
	cashier	7	12.5	12.5	16.1
	seller	3	5.4	5.4	21.4
	secretary	7	12.5	12.5	33.9
	administrator	7	12.5	12.5	46.4
	assistant	13	23.2	23.2	69.6
	social worker	2	3.6	3.6	73.2
	receptionist	6	10.7	10.7	83.9
	trainee/prepared staff	1	1.8	1.8	85.7
	accountant	6	10.7	10.7	96.4
	teacher	1	1.8	1.8	98.2
	stocker	1	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	56	100.0	100.0	

Finally, having explored the changes in these graduate students’ work and lives, ten closed questions and one open-ended question were asked in order to investigate the impact of the managerial and pedagogic constituents upon service users’ (VE graduate students) performance at their workplaces. A five-point scale was designed for each closed question: 5 = strongly agree; 4 = agree; 3 = neutral or undecided; 2 = disagree; 1 = strongly disagree (Hewstone 2001). By the use of SPSS, the responses for each question were analyzed and calculated in terms of the responses by percentage, frequency, mean and standard deviation. The final open-ended question was optional, and there were only 18 responses to this question. They however provide a good deal of verification and confirmation of the researcher’s interpretation of the 10 closed questions.

8.3.2 Relative Importance of Pedagogic and Managerial Constituents

Triangulated and supplemented by the observation evidence, the survey results aim to evaluate the influence and impact of constituents and to see how important the constituents are in relation to students' learning outcomes (i.e. employment and empowerment). As examined in Table 8.20, 66.1 % of the interviewees strongly agreed with the importance of personal skills in building up good relationships at work in Cambodia. In fact, it is the most important skill in the opinion of these service users. With regard to the constituent 'rehabilitation', most of them agreed and strongly agreed that the more self-confidence they had, the better their work performance would be. Nevertheless, from my observation most of the graduates still seemed to have less confidence in themselves. Especially when interacting with other colleagues/co-workers from higher socio-economic strata or with a better educational background, NGO VE graduates feel inferior and abase themselves in their working environment.

More than three quarters (57.1%+28.6%) of the interviewees agreed that moral education is practical and found frequent application in their work and daily life. They had learned more about how to solve problems, and to cope with stress and negative feelings. In contrast, 16 interviewees did not think that they applied technical knowledge in their first jobs, especially those working as receptionists, cashiers and in sales, as observed. About one quarter of graduate students did not feel satisfied with their current income, mainly those receiving a monthly income of 50 US dollars and below and those engaged in part-time work. From the service users' perspective, the constituent 'the consultative' is probably that which most requires improvement. Only

33.9% (23.2%+10.7%) of the interviewees had benefited from consultation from their NGO after graduation.

Table 8.20: Impact of pedagogic constituents upon work performance

	Impact of constituents upon work performance, after graduation	Mean	S.D.	Responses by percentage (and frequency)				
				1	2	3	4	5
Pedagogic Constituents	Relationships	4.625	0.590	0(0)	1.8(1)	0(0)	32.1(18)	66.1(37)
	Rehabilitation	4.286	0.594	0(0)	0(0)	7.1(4)	57.1(32)	35.7(20)
	Moral	4.109	0.685	0(0)	1.8(1)	12.5(7)	57.1(32)	28.6(16)
	Know-how	3.836	0.938	0(0)	12.5(7)	16.1(9)	48.2(27)	23.2(13)
	Incentive	3.907	1.069	3.6(2)	8.9(5)	10.7(6)	42.9(24)	30.4(17)
	Consultative	2.856	1.239	14.3(8)	33.9(19)	17.9(10)	23.2(13)	10.7(6)

Table 8.21 shows the impact of managerial constituents on graduate students’ work performance. Among seven managerial constituents, only three (‘communication’, ‘information’ and ‘commercial practices’) were addressed in the questionnaire. This was mainly because the NGOs service providers agree that their external coordinating strategies (collaborating, defending and monitoring strategies) and complementary activities (i.e. structural changes and welfare services) in support of VE graduates’ work are rather indirect and are barely apparent to the graduates. The interconnection numbers of these three ‘collaborating’, ‘defending’ and ‘monitoring’ strategies within the 9 DCA models as a group are all much lower (the inter-connections are 4, 4 and 3 respectively) suggesting less influence on the 9 NGO VE services in my multiple-case study.

Table 8.21: Impact of managerial constituents upon work performance

	Impact of constituents upon work performance, after graduation	Mean	S.D.	Responses by percentage (and frequency)				
				1	2	3	4	5
Managerial Constituents	Communication (with NGO staff)	3.571	1.059	7.1(4)	7.1(4)	21.4(12)	50.0(28)	14.3(8)
	Communication (with people at work)	3.767	0.953	3.6(2)	7.1(4)	16.1(9)	55.4(31)	17.9(10)
	Information	3.833	1.270	8.9(5)	7.1(4)	10.7(6)	33.9(19)	35.7(20)
	Commercial practice	3.796	1.265	12.5(7)	1.8(1)	7.1(4)	46.4(26)	28.6(16)

At first sight, it was surprising that so many interviewees felt it easier to express their opinions to people having higher status at work than with NGO staff. But in fact, as I observed and as they explained in informal conversations later on, interviewees often felt more relaxed in front of the NGO managers (such as the Catholic Sisters). The interviewees said however that they did not want to disappoint NGO staff with whom they had lived, and who had taken care of them for two years. The interviewees felt it was not appropriate to oppose NGO managers, but this was out of respect rather than fear.

Notably, NGO₁ circulated most information to its students and encouraged them to find other ways to obtain information. Nevertheless, only 69.6% (33.9%+35.7%) of the interviewees had gathered much up-to-date information about further study and job opportunities. The remaining interviewees were finding it difficult to collect information. Approximately six months after graduation 17 interviewees were still in the first positions to which they had been introduced by their NGO, while the other 39 interviewees were seeking or were already engaged in better jobs thanks to information from family and relatives (15 interviewees), friends (10), jobs newspaper

(9), the internet (4) and a job agency (1). Lastly, in terms of the interviewees' views on commercial practice, 75% (46.4%+28.6%) of the interviewees confirmed that their work performance had benefited from the previous business experience and practice provided by NGO₁. The disagreement of the others was mainly due to the relatively short duration of their on-the-job training, which normally lasted for only a month or six weeks.

8.4 Tentative Conclusion: Effectiveness in NGOs' VE Intervention

So, what does an effective strategy of NGOs' providing VE services look like? The investigation into the effectiveness of an NGO VE service in this chapter is grounded in two ideas:

One is to analyze the inter-consistency of the 9 NGO models and the relative importance of the 13 constituents within the 9 models as a group, mainly from the perspective of the service providers. I find that tactical success, as far as the emphasis on individual constituents is concerned, will be less meaningful if it does not contribute to a wholesome, strategic victory, i.e. to support and complement constituents one another in fostering VE students' social and economic equality.

Without consistent relations among the constituents, each constituent would only exist in its own right. As the constituent relations are observed in the DCA information matrix of NGO VE services in Cambodia, managerial constituents in general play support roles to pedagogic constituents, rather than the other way around. More pedagogic constituents are placed in the central position of the 9 NGO models and have a direct influence upon students' acquisition of many tangible and intangible skills. All these skills could be comprehended as employable knowledge and disposition.

The other idea is to examine the impact of the constituents on service users' work performance, this time mainly from the service users' perspective. It helps indicate students' changes before and after graduation, offers implications for their learning outcomes in both employment and empowerment, and in turn suggests the relative

importance of the constituents from service users' viewpoint. Statistically, if the mean values of the constituents (as shown in Tables 8.20 and 8.21) are compared, students' work performance is found to benefit more from intangible skills involving personal development and social practices (e.g. Constituents 'relationship development', 'rehabilitation' and 'moral involvement') than from tangible skills (e.g. Constituent 'know-how acquisition'). If NGO₁ could be regarded as a benchmark for the other NGOs in the case study, it is clear that the effectiveness of NGO₁ is grounded in the emphasis upon the constituents of 'know-how acquisition' 'moral involvement', 'information circulation' and 'relationship development'. The first three constituents along with 'the consultative' and 'rehabilitation', as discussed in 8.2.3, are the most important constituents found in the DCA modelling process. Notwithstanding, from the service users' perspective 'relationship development' has the highest mean value and is the most significant constituent over any others in their working context. 'The consultative', on the other hand, is the most fragile part in the overall intervention strategy at NGO₁ VE and needs to be improved and better resourced.

In the case of NGO₂, only 2 of the 11 graduate students were employed when I re-interviewed them in 2007. One of these two male students who had graduated from electricity course is in fact employed by NGO₂ as a gardener, which does not make use of his technical skills. This result directly verifies my earlier point about the VE service at NGO₂ being less effective, in line with the lower inter-consistency of the NGO₂ organizational model in 8.2.2. Other than NGO₁ and NGO₂, VE students from the remaining 7 NGOs in the case study were not interviewed during both periods of fieldwork (2006 and 2007). This might have limited my insights into the effectiveness of those 7 NGOs, yet the exploration of managerial and pedagogic issues (Chapters Six and Seven) and the modelling results of effectiveness in the 9 NGOs (Chapter

Eight) will help to re-shape, or at least to re-think the relevant debates in the existing literature. In the next chapter some theoretical implications will be discussed and elaborated, with particular reflection about the existing study and knowledge of vulnerability in Cambodia (Chapter Two), NGO management (Chapter Three) and vocational education in developing countries (Chapter Four).

Chapter 9 Discussion and Theoretical Implications

9.1 Introduction

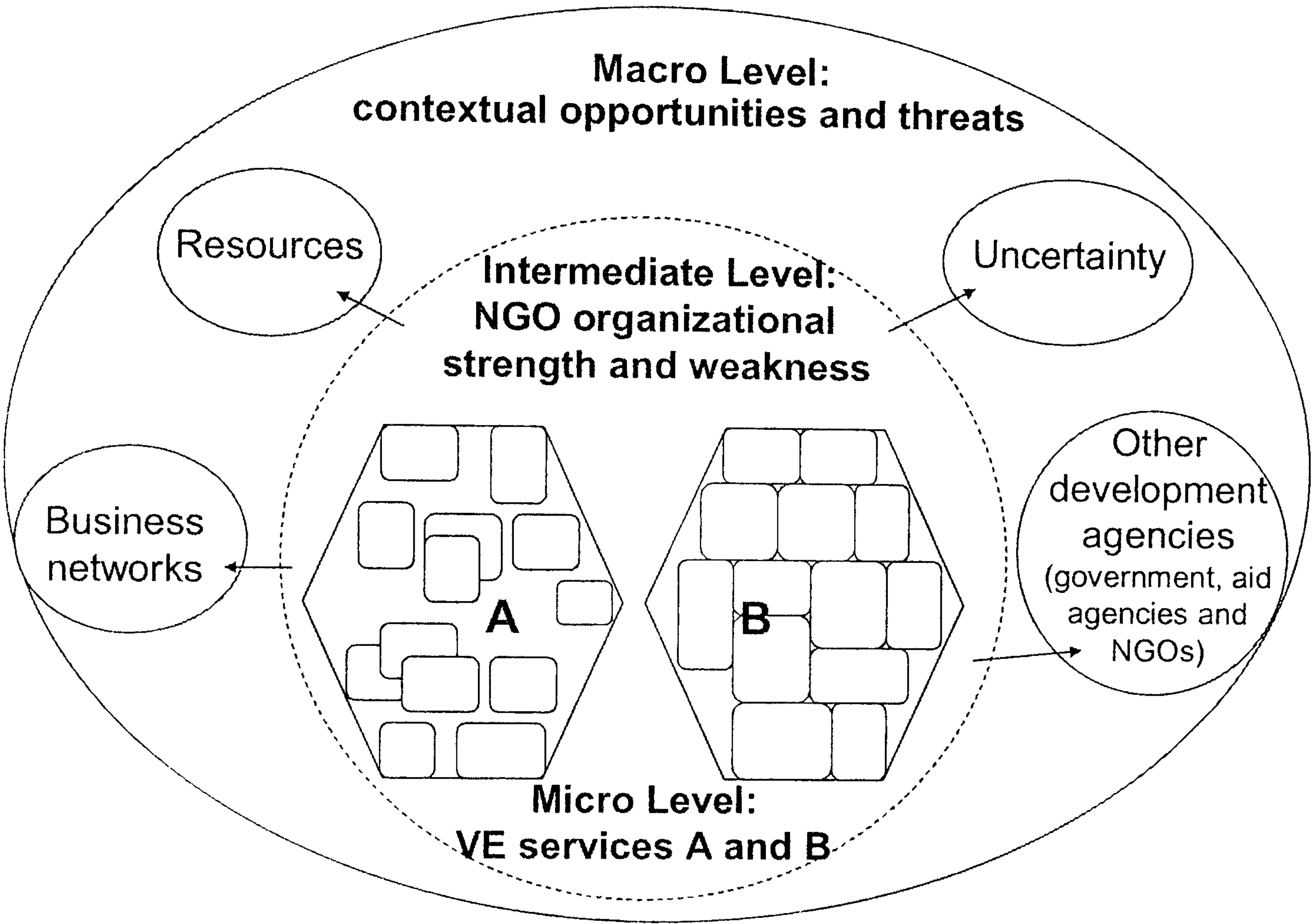
To what extent do these findings and analyses of effectiveness and its 13 key constituents contribute to the contextual, managerial and pedagogical debates explored by the literature review in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively? In the earlier chapters 6 and 7, the empirical findings of management and pedagogy from the multiple-case study were explored and analyzed. Given that the definition and distinctiveness of the key managerial and pedagogical constituents that constitute effectiveness were indeed captured, Chapter 8 conceptualized and modelled the effectiveness of NGOs' intervention in vocational education at their micro-service level (as one of the three levels depicted in Figure 5.2, 'Conceptual framework of NGOs' intervention in vocational education'). Going further, the effectiveness of NGOs' VE services was gauged from the perspectives of both service providers and beneficiaries, by virtue of the research tools of DCA and SPSS respectively. Doing so resulted in a clear picture of what an effective service looked like, how its 13 constituents were relatively emphasized, and how one constituent was when aligned with another. Following that, 'real' models of the 9 NGO VE services in the multiple-case study were built up and their effectiveness levels compared, some possible changes that would lead toward more effectiveness in each case were suggested, and the 'ideal-type' model (indicating the ideal level of effectiveness) was eventually revealed.

A distance exists between the ‘real’ and ‘ideal-type’ models. The cause distancing real performance from the ideal level of effectiveness may be understood if both macro and intermediate levels in the Conceptual Framework (again, as shown in Figure 5.2) are taken into consideration. As outlined at the outset of the Thesis, the scale and scope of the Conceptual Framework operate as a source for encapsulating and investigating NGOs’ intervention in vocational education in Cambodia. Although effective intervention as found in the last chapter seems determined by the importance and inter-relations of the 13 key constituents at the micro-service level, the service in itself never operates in a vacuum. In fact, the nature and functions of the 13 constituents are oriented to either make good use of NGOs’ organizational strength (e.g. the managerial components, dealing with relationships and mobilizing resources in the aid chain), or make an impact on the broader context (e.g. the pedagogical components, for economic and social change). Moreover, in many cases (e.g. NGO₁, NGO₄ and NGO₇), the structure of their micro-services is not just inseparable from, but also entirely overlaps that of the intermediate-NGOs. NGOs’ intervention in vocational education therefore is rather perceived as the intersection of the micro (VE service) practices with their intermediate-organizational conditions and macro-contextual influences. Finally, in this study the discussion of effectiveness in NGOs’ intervention in vocational education is put forward in just such an intersectional and multi-faceted manner.

Accordingly Figure 9.1, developed further from the Conceptual Framework in Figure 5.2, depicts my understanding that effective intervention is impossible to limit and confine itself to the inner practice and isolation of a VE service only. Rather, the micro-service practice is inserted and embedded in the macro context, in order to interact with externally powerful and resourceful agents and to make a positive,

outward influence on the macro dominance. More precisely, effective intervention is not only about the discovery of the wholesome, inner structure of a VE service, but

Figure 9.1: Effectiveness in intersection of micro service with macro context



also about how such a structure strategically and feasibly interacts with its intermediate and macro environments. As seen in Figure 9.1, the effectiveness comparison is made between VE services A and B. Within both polygons (i.e. services A and B), 13 small rectangles represent the 13 key elements that constitute effectiveness in a NGO VE service. In the premise of similar organizational conditions (i.e. NGOs) and contextual influences (i.e. urban areas of Cambodia), Service A, the polygon on the left, is perceived as less effective than Service B, the polygon on the right. Service A is regarded as less effective and under-structured, because its small rectangles, the constituents, appear less ordered, poorly inter-connected with one another, and inadequately emphasized; in short, they are less inter-consistent. By

contrast, the rectangles within Service B look more ordered and better inter-connected, and accordingly Service B is suggested as better able to adapt itself to, respond to and/or resist the contextual opportunities and threats.

Having learned in Chapter 8 what an effective NGO VE service in Cambodia looks like, my focus in this chapter is primarily on the debates over interaction and the possible influences of an effective service upon its wider environments. Owing to its fundamental roots in the Conceptual Framework (Figure 5.2), the empirical ‘constituent model’ of effectiveness in Chapter 8 is entailed on its significant potential for contribution to the above debates. Accordingly, three facets of discussion about NGOs’ effective intervention in vocational education will be presented here, along with their theoretical implications. The discussion and analyses will be supported by my empirical findings and further justified by the existing literature. The first facet (in 9.2.1) is located in the interface of the intermediate NGOs with the Cambodian macro context, and turns instead to provide an evidential ground for rethinking the NGOs’ managerial, strategic role in the international development context. The next facet (in 9.2.2), supported by the major managerial findings in Chapter 6, is to synthesize the managerial ideas of how a VE service might be capable of adapting itself to the macro context, in order to make a long-term impact of social change upon the latter. Both facets will be further engaged with Organisation Theory that has offered a substantial analytical lens for NGO effectiveness in this study, and produce implications for the explanatory power of the Theory: particularly, the implications for both contingency theory and resource dependency theory reviewed in 3.4. Finally, the pedagogical findings in Chapter 7 will be brought in the intersection of a VE service with its macro context (in 9.3) and reshape the VE pedagogical debates concerning empowerment and employment in the developing world.

Methodologically, this chapter also allows me to ‘triangulate’ effectiveness, insofar as the external (contextual) and internal (organizational) influences on effectiveness are concerned. On the other hand ‘generalization’ can be further entrenched here, since the conceptualization and modelling of effectiveness in the last chapter is based on empirical data: in other words, on the basis of the limited case studies in my research. Therefore, given that the empirical evidence has significant relevance for the existing theoretical debates, an effective and context-appropriate intervention in vocational education in Cambodia will be clarified and better theorised.

9.2 Rethinking of NGO Management

NGOs based on some distinctive nature, such as voluntarism and humanitarianism in pursuit of development tasks like poverty reduction and social justice in the developing world, have identified an urgent need for distinctive management in enhancing their effectiveness (Billis and MacKeith 1993; Fowler and Pratt 1997; Mukasa 1999; Lewis 2001; Edwards and Fowler 2002; Lewis 2007). In agreement with the appeal common to many NGO practitioners and researchers as described above, in this section I will further synthesize the empirical evidence and debates raised in Chapter 3, in the hope of informing and rethinking the effectiveness of NGO management.

Overall, I argue that to manage to be effective, a NGO needs firstly take advantage of its specific strategic position in the aid chain (as in Figure 3.1, ‘NGOs in the aid industry and financial dependency’). The strategic position is clarified and firmly fixed so that the organisational strength of an NGO might better intersect with its macro context, as will be elaborated in 9.2.1. By doing so, the NGO may possibly extend its influence beyond the organisational constraints in the present and future architecture of the aid industry. Secondly, having strategically positioned itself in the role of ‘middle manager’ in the aid chain, an NGO accordingly develops and deploys practical tactics to build up many connections, to mobilise the necessary resources, and to fulfill its specific development tasks and mission. To be precise, the terminology ‘middle manager’ is not used here to refer to a middle manager within an NGO, but to the NGO itself playing an intermediary role in the aid chain; in other words, locating itself in the aid industry as a middle manager. Moreover, a discussion over how NGO’s micro-service practice may interact better with its macro

dominant groups will be pursued in 9.2.2. The discussion and theoretical implications will be further supported by the empirical evidence in this doctoral work, concerning the particular mission of the 9 NGOs in the case study to intervene in vocation education for employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people in Cambodia.

9.2.1 Strategic Role as Middle Managers

9.2.1.1 Between the Grassroots, a Rock and a Hard Place

What is the role of NGOs in Cambodian urban communities in triggering more effective action? In support of NGOs' primary stakeholders (i.e. beneficiaries) among the grassroots, what role could NGOs play to appropriately negotiate with the 'rock' and the 'hard place', the metaphors given by Igoe and Kelsall (2005) to indicate two tough, dominant powers (i.e. international donor agencies and the national government, respectively) within the state territory of an aid recipient country?

If fighting for poverty reduction and social justice in Cambodia is a long-term battle, then I argue that it is realistic to firmly fix NGOs in a sustainable, strategic position as 'middle managers (i.e. intermediaries)' that are inherent in the long aid chain. It is both realistic and important for NGOs to take this strategic stance, because the position is not only distinct from that of other development actors and donors but also needed by them. What this means is that middle managers (i.e. intermediaries) usually see the problems on the ground earlier than the top managers (Huy 2001; Magretta 2003). Unlike top managers (in this case, the Cambodian government and international donor agencies) in the aid chain, middle managers (i.e. NGOs) are usually closer to the grassroots and consequently, have more frequent contact and

communication with local communities about their urgent needs and real-life issues, such as the issue of employment in this case study. I also found that NGOs rather than grassroots organizations are closer to the powerful and resourceful development agents and can more easily exert some influence over them. In Cambodia, for instance, the members of the country's NGO Forum share the common purpose of providing valuable feedback and suggestions that inform the government's development policy and implementation (NGO Forum on Cambodia 2005; NGO Forum on Cambodia 2007). That activity is now becoming even more feasible, as new technologies like ICT help to form NGO networks globally, nationally and locally, and further mobilize the constellation of NGOs to reshape global politics (Smillie 2000; Warkentin 2001).

Given NGOs' potential for being middle managers (i.e. intermediaries) in the current and future aid industry, they are found to have at least three strategic advantages.

Firstly NGOs' legitimacy is reinforced owing to the middle managers' closer connection with frontline, grassroots and civil voices (NGO Education Partnership 2006; NGO Forum on Cambodia 2007). Secondly, NGOs' strength as a mediator, facilitator and bridge to link upward and downward with all development agencies (whether they refer to the grassroots, rocks and hard places) may be better captured.

Thirdly, NGOs' autonomy is secured in the name of middle management. The autonomous space of an NGO is important, for fear that the prevailing wind of donor trends and swiftly-changing fashions might disturb or destroy the distinctive initiatives and long-term commitment of an NGO (Bennett and Gibbs 1996). Besides, middle management would appear critical to NGOs faced with contingency and uncertainty.

As suggested by Huy (2001), when the external environment of an organization transforms itself, e.g. international donors' changing attitudes about aid in Cambodia, or when the organization's internal condition is unstable, e.g. the frequent change of

NGO staff in my case study, middle managers have to make quick, responsive choices to perform the following four duties in order to achieve their organizational tasks effectively. The duties of a middle manager are listed below and further exemplified by the managerial findings in Chapter 6:

- **Entrepreneurs:** e.g. having duty as businessmen to create their own enterprises, for on-the-job training and/or producing job opportunities for beneficiaries such as VE students.
- **Tightrope Artists:** e.g. the duty of maintaining a balance between organizational sustainability and the beneficiaries' needs; between upward accountability and downward accountability.
- **Communicators:** e.g. the duty of communicating with donors or the business network, in order to evoke their support.
- **Therapists:** e.g. the duty of listening to, rehabilitating and caring for beneficiaries.

As indicated, I can see that NGOs' daily intervention in vocational education (VE) can be translated into middle management, and in turn, send a clear signal to Contingency Theory. While Theory acknowledges that 'change' and 'uncertainty' might be the source of either risk or creativity, and steer an organization to being in either greater jeopardy or hopeful innovation (Morgan 1997; Tsoukas and Knudsen 2003), it does not articulate what determines the either-or direction. The NGOs in my multiple-case study however suggest that it is the strategic role of middle managers (i.e. intermediaries) that may serve to so determine. Situated in the middle of a long aid chain, NGOs are placed to respond faster and to cope with change; and simultaneously they have a good position for actively making changes, which will be explained further in the following section, 9.2.1.2.

9.2.1.2 Catalyst for Social Change

At first sight, the debate about NGOs' existing role as service implementers (e.g. alternatives to government or public service contractors) or/and social change catalysts (as an arena where the grassroots voice could be encouraged) in the international development context may look like old wine in new bottles, as discussed in Chapter 3. Some dissenters to the dual role argue that being 'civil actors' is much more important than being 'project implementers' (Jorgensen 1996; Wils 1996), while others are disappointed that NGOs 'should' (in normative terms) but 'can not' (in managerial terms) make an effective difference in respect of questioning the structural roots of societal issues (Harper 1996). They criticize NGOs' inability and false promise to reach the out-of-reach and the poorest in the provision of welfare services (Brett 1993; Edwards and Hulme 1995), feel suspicious of NGOs' autonomy in decision-making (Biggs and Neame 1996; Kamat 2002; Pratt 2003) and their 'goal/task deflation' (Mukasa 1999; Smillie 2000) as a result of being shaped and impinged by the 'rock' and the 'hard place', and eventually come to doubt about the allegedly legitimate role of NGOs.

The above critics will unfortunately be proven correct if NGOs do not take management seriously in order to sustain their voluntary initiatives and humanitarian principles, if NGOs manage their micro services without bearing a broader vision in mind that directs and embeds their influence into structural changes, and/or if NGOs act locally without thinking globally. In that case, NGOs are merely the reproduction of either 'a rock' or 'a hard place', disconnected from the grassroots perspective, and valorize the status quo of societal inequality, rather than transforming the social and economic situation of individuals into more equal terms. As proven by my multiple-case study, it is undeniable that NGOs in Cambodia are better at responding

immediately to community needs and local realities than at shaping the broader educational and economic policies of the nation. NGOs' micro service provision is in demand, partly because the requirement for welfare services is always greater than supply in Cambodia (and in fact, in any industrial and poor countries) and partly because action for social change is usually the work of well-educated, middle-class Cambodians (i.e. NGOs' social advocacy and research activities are less directly undertaken or examined by the poor and thus might be easier to lose the poor). Therefore, I argue that the role of service provision is critical to the role of social change maker, as further justified by Resource Dependency Theory. First of all a negotiating arena for social change could be created by NGOs, since to the Cambodian government and donor agencies the role of NGOs in service provision seems irreplaceable. Secondly, the flow of resources going directly to the poor via micro service provision decides that it is the poor who are directly empowered. When NGOs take aboard the comparative advantages of being a service implementer, their role must by no means include giving up their intended function of creating social change. NGOs that are contented with the single role of micro service implementers do not *just* function differently from public service contractors, they *also* diminish the ownership, commitment, responsibility and obligations of the government (Jorgensen 1996; Wils 1996; King 1998). In other words, NGOs' focus on immediate needs for education and employment at the grassroots should not distract them from being alert to and questioning the structural inequalities embodied in the national and international trends that result from capitalist and neo-liberal imperatives.

To be precise, it seems to me that the proponents of NGOs' dual role as service implementers and social change catalysts and their opposition do not turn their debate around the question of whether it is desirable or not that NGOs 'should' play such

dual roles, but the question of whether it is feasible or not that those dual roles ‘can’ be played in an unfavorable environment. On the premise that there is less doubt about *desirability*, my support of *feasibility* derives mainly from the empirical evidence. In Chapter 6, among the managerial findings only three (i.e. NGO₂, NGO₃ and NGO₉) of the nine NGOs have been clearly engaged in advocacy activities through research, through resource and information sharing with communities, NGO networks, the government and donors, whereas other six NGOs claimed to have an ‘indirect’ long-term effect upon structural changes. For example, many graduate students of NGO₁ behave as role models and organize educational services for other, younger children in their home communities. NGOs’ intervention in vocational education in these cases demonstrates NGOs’ high potential in raising their beneficiaries’ economic and social status in urban Cambodia, and the latter in turn lend a hand in creating more opportunities for the larger population remaining behind. As a result of the steadily increasing population of employed as well as empowered beneficiaries structural changes in Cambodia may be made more by those Cambodian beneficiaries themselves, rather than being reproduced by foreigner-dominated NGOs. My findings therefore suggest that NGOs as service implementers both can and should coexist with and accept the role of social change activists. In other words, the dual roles could be played to create a long-term, bottom-up impact, as social changes receive constant and effective contributions from NGOs via the empowerment of their beneficiaries (Billis and MacKeith 1993).

In addition to resourcing and empowering beneficiaries via micro service provision, my next intention is to investigate the other organizational features and conditions that provide NGOs with the leverage for social change. As discussed in Chapter 8, which looked at the evaluation of NGOs’ effectiveness, neither their registration as

international or local NGOs, their foundations in religion or the secular, nor their size are most important. Among the nine NGOs in the case study, only NGO₃ and NGO₈ have relatively large size (as shown in Table 5.2 ‘Case selection matrix’), whereas these two cases separately represent the high and low degrees of effectiveness in Chapter 8. In my findings the size of an organisation appears to be associated with the specific managerial constituent of ‘defending strategy’ but not with overall effectiveness. Some researchers argue that organisational size matters greatly to a NGO’s leverage and its influence upon its wider operating environment (Lawler 1997), while others do not (Roche 1992; Fowler 2002). My study however indicates that size, at least, is not the decisive factor. Rather, it is the strategic role of NGOs in the aid chain that matters. NGOs that are firmly rooted in the strategic role of middle managers (i.e. intermediaries) may effectively relate to other stakeholders such as international donors, other NGOs, the government and business sectors, mobilise resources, deal with uncertainty and negotiate for change, i.e. for explicit organisational tasks. As already demonstrated in the findings section, 6.4.3, good interpersonal, intra- and inter-organisational relationship management is accordingly put into practice from a shared vision, to joint projects, to coordinating strategies. NGOs, as drawn in the conceptual framework, begin their intervention with a central strategic role; and it is the role that turns to direct and support the design, development and deployment of good tactics in internal and external relations, as will be discussed in the next section.

9.2.2 Tactics of Relating and Interacting

Making and sustaining the right connections lies in the centre of effective NGO management, as emphasised by Edwards and Fowler (2002). Grounded in the

clarification of the NGOs' managerial role in 9.2.1, NGOs' effectiveness ultimately relies on their managerial ability to develop innovative and responsive tactics for relating with their beneficiaries, other development agencies and business networks in the urban Cambodia. At the NGO VE service level, 'effectiveness' means to attain short-term objectives (e.g. employment) and long-term goals (e.g. empowerment), by the service interacting better with its task environment (Robbins 1990; Robbins and Barnwell 2002). In other words, for the development task of contributing to vulnerable young people's employment and empowerment, an NGO VE service must structure itself to communicate and coordinate effectively with the main stakeholders in the task environment (such as urban Cambodia) on the one hand, and better reduce the environmental uncertainty and resources dependency of its own, on the other. Therefore, it is important for the service to know and understand its stakeholders' different demand, interests, needs, resources, power, attitude and activities, because the transitional and quickly developing nature of urban Cambodia may be better reflected and then more easily depicted in the capture of stakeholders' interests and the complex relations among them (Trivedy and Acharya 1996). The effectiveness of an NGO is, after all, received as socially constructed and context-specific rather than dependant upon grand generalizations (McGrath, King et al. 1995; Herman and Renz 1999). Following capture and understanding of the opportunities and threats that exist in the specific urban context, a micro VE service may re-structure and adapt itself to strengthen its capacity to build up the many necessary linkages and mobilize the necessary resources required to help vulnerable young people, the service beneficiaries, to benefit from their country's economic growth and simultaneously overcome the socio-cultural and administrative barriers that block their way to employment and empowerment.

9.2.2.1 Capturing Uncertainty

The effectiveness of NGOs' intervention in vocational education (VE), as tentatively concluded in Chapter 3, is to make a 'balance' internally and externally. In other words, it is the question of *what* and *how* to balance between a micro VE service and its macro context. The answers lie at the heart of the managerial findings in Chapter 6. The findings explain that the effective level of a VE service is determined by its inner structures as well as its environmental social structures, as seen in Table 6.3 'External and internal determinants of linking with employment'. Externally, the change, dilemmas, uncertainty and obstacles to the management and daily operation of a NGO VE service may be traced back to the weak social structures in the urban areas of Cambodia, such as corrupt local authorities, hostile communities, poor infrastructure and an immature civil society (Bhatt 1995; Walsh and Lenihan 2006). Whilst economic and educational opportunities are emerging in the country, threats are being engendered at the same time, according to the contextual analysis of vulnerability among young people in Cambodia, Chapter 2. As the country translates the global and national education policy and resources of 'Education for All' (EFA) into primary schooling for all, the socio-economic profile of young people is changing from 'unemployed or under-employed' to '*educated* unemployed or *educated* under-employed'. Furthermore, in the era of double-digit growth in the country's GDP, discrimination against the poor seeking to obtain paid employment and better job opportunities has become entrenched, in addition to the doubling of relative poverty (i.e. income inequality) in a recent five-year period (Mahmood 2005; World Bank 2007a). Let alone that the central and local governments of Cambodia, as observed by the service providers in my case study, have become more corrupt. This increasing corruption and the governments' lack of capacity have been found to be the greatest external obstacle to NGO management in particular (NGO Forum on Cambodia 2007),

and to poverty reduction across the country in general (EIC 2005a; CEA 2006; EIC 2006; World Bank 2006).

In contrast, the internal obstacle to NGO management refers to the under-developed (or even non-existent) inner structures of an NGO VE service, and precisely indicates the poor performance of some managerial constituents found in the case study. For example, the poorer ‘communication among frontline staff’ seen in NGO₇ and NGO₉, or the longer ‘communicative distance between field offices (FO) and their headquarters (HQ)/international support organizations (SO)’ found in NGO₅ and NGO₈, or the dearth of ‘monitoring’ mechanism in the majority of cases. The ideas of Contingency Theory on the one hand recognize the significant external and internal determinants (i.e. to question of just *what* to balance), and on the other hand, place their interests in internal structural changes and adaptation (e.g. the 7 managerial constituents and their inter-relations of a NGO VE service) in order to fit and match with external environmental changes (i.e. to question *how* to balance). Therefore, at least three theoretical implications for Contingency Theory emerge from my case study. The first implication shows that when the environmental conditions are switched, an NGO VE service needs to respond swiftly and organically transform itself for fear that there will be some mismatch between a micro service and its macro environment. Such a mismatch soon lead to lower level of effectiveness in a company, with lower employment rates, as an inflexible service is found more vulnerable to a changing and uncertain situation. This can be proven by the comparative analysis of three NGOs operating under the same Catholic religious order: NGO₁, NGO₂ and NGO₄. The leading managers of NGO₂ in Poipet and NGO₄ in Battambang first provided VE services by adopting the Phnom Penh experience of NGO₁, but eventually came to realize that the worse socio-economic conditions and higher levels

of uncertainty in Poipet and Battambang require inner structures and managerial activities that are different from those in Phnom Penh. Apart from this, the empirical evidence indicates that in order to effectively capture external change and uncertainty, internal communication is more important than control in NGO management. The contingent view however emphasises ‘the lower degree of managerial control within a micro structure’ to ‘fit’ and ‘match’ with ‘the higher level of the uncertainty within its macro context’ (Robbins and Barnwell 2002). Instead, I would argue that it is the communicative distance between FO and HQ/SO, rather than the managerial control of HQ and SO, that most influences the effectiveness of an FO (i.e. NGO VE service) in an uncertain environment. The argument would be even more plausible if I could account for the managerial control of my case studies and investigate the communicative distance between FOs and their HQs (in the case of international NGO₁, NGO₂, NGO₄, NGO₅ and NGO₈) and between FOs and their SOs (in the case of local NGO₃, NGO₆, NGO₇ and NGO₉). Whereas both SO of NGO₃ and HQ of NGO₅ have equally strong managerial control, for instance, the communicative distance within NGO₃ is shorter than NGO₅ (as compared in Table 6.4) and not surprisingly, effectiveness in the former appears higher than in the latter. In the wake of a more uncertain and contingent environment in the case study, the shorter communicative distance is the faster response a micro service might make to macro uncertainty, consequently resulting in higher effectiveness. A final implication for Contingency Theory is that it is higher levels of external uncertainty, change and limitations demand that an NGO service should have a well-developed structure, with better resource mobilization and institutional linkages. Having looked again at the case comparison in Table 6.3, I found that the employment rates of the 9 NGOs by and large correspond to their effectiveness levels as analyzed in Chapter 8 (see Table 8.11 ‘The inter-consistency of 9 NGO VE services and their NGO features’). The

corresponding results indicate that urban areas enjoying an economic boom, such as Phnom Penh, sometimes reluctantly demand a well-developed inner structure in a NGO VE service. For example, the NGOs located in Phnom Penh in my case study (i.e. NGO₁, NGO₃ and NGO₇) have relative high employment rates (in Table 6.3) and demonstrate higher effectiveness (in Table 8.11) despite the fact that some of them (e.g. NGO₁ and NGO₃) are internally well-structured while others (e.g. NGO₇) are not. On the other hand, those NGOs found to be inadequately structured in my case study (e.g. NGO₂, NGO₆ and NGO₉), without exception, do not perform well in urban areas that are characterized by higher uncertainty and less economic prosperity, such as Poipet. The highly uncertain task environment requires a service that has an inner structure which can immediately respond to external changes by better mobilizing resources and managing multi-institutional support. Having recognized the generally high degree of uncertainty that exists in the Cambodian urban context, the next section will go on to discuss how an NGO VE service could manage resources and relationships there, so as to effectively achieve its tasks of finding employment and nurturing the empowerment of vulnerable young people.

9.2.2.2 Mobilising Resources and Relating to Others

The concepts of resource mobilisation may be condensed into two words: dependency and diversification (Fowler 2002). Apart from the reasons and ideas advocated by Resource Dependency Theory in 3.4.2, why does resource dependency in an NGO need to be reduced and where possible, avoided? The answer is straightforward: it is not only for organizational sustainability (as articulated in 3.4.2) but also for development task fulfillment. In particular, for fear of ‘mission creep’ (Magretta 2003), goal deflection or tasks being distorted from their origins, it is essential for an NGO to clearly identify and mark the boundaries of what they are going to do, to reflect what

they have done from stakeholders' perspectives (rather than looking inwards), and to have the authority to decide what they are not going to do. NGOs' intervention in vocational education in this research is found to presuppose the importance of maintaining NGOs own decision-making power (i.e. autonomy) in the hope of acting authentically as one element of the civil power (or the third sector), operating complementary to (and sometimes, against) the governmental and commercial sectors. In this respect, resources are a decisive factor for an NGO seeking to maintain control over itself, generate power, and be able to empower others (Mckinley and Mone 2003). Autonomy in an NGO, however, is unlikely to last long in the presence of deteriorating communication and relationships with the government, donor agencies and other stakeholders, or if the NGO must surrender control and power to a single source of funding. To avoid being over-dependent or vulnerable to such a single power, NGOs need to diversify their funding. Methods of funding that have been found to reduce the dependency of NGOs on others for human, technical, financial and material resources include:

- (1) Increased use of local materials and human resources:** e.g. NGO₆ borrows land from Buddhist temples (called 'wats') in local communities to set up educational centers, and uses the influence and reputation of monks to gain public trust. NGO₁ involves community leaders to recruit needy children to participate in literacy classes. NGO₉ employs local technicians to be trainers at mobile VE classes in Poipet.
- (2) Self-financing:** e.g. establishing their own enterprise (specifically, the car repair workshop at NGO₇, the water purification plant at NGO₆, and the restaurants at NGO₃, NGO₅ and NGO₉) to generate income for core expenditure such as administrative and overhead costs, and independence of

the VE service.

(3) Recruiting technical advisors to secure the relationship with

international donor agencies: NGO₆ and NGO₃ recruit expatriate technical advisors for fund-raising purpose. Fund raising is a specific expertise that needs to be shared with local NGOs, in order to learn about international donors' 'appetite' and their implicit as well as explicit funding requirements in the wake of global aid trends and political and economic ideologies.

(4) Establishing an NGO network and strategic alliances: A01 in NGO₂ uses personal relationships with the staff of other local NGOs to collect VE teaching-learning materials, plus knowledge and information for designing a context-appropriate VE course. NGO₆ is building up an inter-organisational partnership with NGO₃ and other NGOs for a referral system and mutually supportive network.

The above findings, supplementary to the work of Bennett and Gibbs (1996), Fowler and Pratt (1997), Fowler (2002) and Lewis (2001, 2007), could enrich NGOs strategic options in resource mobilisation. On the input side of resource mobilisation, an NGO VE service must try by all means to access whatever its task environment has available, with special reference to money, people (with their experience, competence and skills), information and materials. In a resource-dependent environment (Hudock 1995) such as Cambodia, this requires a higher level of coordinating capacity. As discussed in 6.4.3, three types of coordinative strategies, collaborating, defending and monitoring, emerge from the case study and might offer a theoretical implication for Miles and Snow's three successful types of configuration for organisation-environment relations: these being defender organisations, prospector organisations and analyzer organisations (Miles and Snow 1978; Morgan 1989). For

example, NGO₃ in the case study acts strategically to collaborate with the Cambodian central government, in order to defend against bribe taking by the local police and threats to the NGOs VE graduate students' self-employment and livelihoods. The case evidence here suggests that there is unlikely to be a clean-cut division among Miles and Snow's three types in practice. A more dynamic and holistic view of NGO-environment relations would be more plausible in the Cambodian context.

On the output side of resource mobilisation, an NGO VE service also increases its influence upon the task environment by mobilising human, technical, material and financial resources among different stakeholders. To do so, an NGO VE service needs to know exactly what resources it needs, to map the potential sources in the task environment, and then to be capable of persuading the stakeholders to release resources and support change. In short, effective practice requires the convergence of two methods commonly mentioned by my interviewees and in the previous literature (Billis and MacKeith 1993; Magretta 2003; Lewis 2007). One is 'marketing', to analyze and monitor the interests and demand of stakeholders; the other is 'selling', to get the NGO's ideas, identity and values understood and accepted by others. In respect of management, NGO leading managers create value (e.g. to improve the corporate image and public reputation of a company, in the case of NGO₁, NGO₃, NGO₄ and NGO₉) for powerful and resourceful stakeholders, and sell the value to them in return for resources and the space to negotiate for change. Accordingly, resource mobilisation punctuates good stakeholder analysis and the relationship management of a focal organisation, in this case, an NGO VE service, in order to make the desired changes in its wider environment and to empower the less powerful. In this sense, when resources in the task environment are effectively mobilised in favour of an NGO's mission and tasks (namely, to get vulnerable young people employed and

empowered in my case study), NGOs act simultaneously to alter the environment.

Ideally, when the inward flow of resources from stakeholders to an NGO increases the outward direction of influence from the NGO to the stakeholders is speeded up.

Nevertheless, in practice, my interviewees in Cambodia emphasized ‘selling ideas’ (said by L11 in NGO₅ and L13 in NGO₆) to potential donors, the commercial sector as well as the Cambodian government, all of whom are called ‘secondary stakeholders’, but paid less attention to service beneficiaries (‘primary stakeholders’) as if those service beneficiaries should not object to anything imposed by their NGOs. Worse, the NGOs in my case study were in general less capable of marketing themselves.

Inevitably, their ignorance about the task environment resulted in greater operational costs, caused resource wastage and overlap, and consequently they are failing to sell their ideas to others. Their capacity for researching and monitoring is not sufficient for them to analyze and thoroughly map the different interests and resources of both primary and secondary stakeholders in the Cambodian urban context. This finds a reflection in Resource Dependency Theory: according to the Theory, resource determines the organizational policy (Jawahar and McLaughlin 2001). Empirical evidence here proves this to be especially true, when a focal organization lacks monitoring mechanisms and must act on the basis of the unknown and the ignorant.

Following from this, I suggest that NGOs can be successful in selling their ideas if the stakeholders’ potential roles and expectations have been thoroughly mapped and understood through marketing and monitoring. For instance, in the case of overcoming threats and barriers to the employment of vulnerable young people in Cambodia, both inputs and outputs of resource mobilization are captured and clarified as shown in Table 9.1:

Table 9.1: Inputs and outputs of resource mobilization of a NGO VE service to overcome barriers to employment of vulnerable youth in Cambodia

Relating to main stakeholders of an NGO VE service in Cambodia	Possible resources from stakeholders: (Examples of Inputs)	Possible impacts upon stakeholders: (Examples of Outputs)
Beneficiaries (vulnerable young people)	Provide NGOs with moral justification	Employment and empowerment
International aid (donor) agencies	Provide NGOs with financial resources	Implications for and reflection upon international aid policy (such as Structural Adjustment)
Other NGOs	Enhance strength of NGOs for referral services and advocacy activities	Organizational cooperation and competition; cultural sensitivity and conflation
Central government	Provide NGOs with statutory status	Lobby against corruption and for governmental responsibility
Local authorities/ local elites	Reduce NGOs' operational cost in locality	Enhance decentralization; reduce the administrative and bureaucratic barriers to VE graduates' employment
Communities/ the grassroots	Provide NGOs with legitimacy; local knowledge and techniques	Community participation; learn to voice and express in the ground
Business sector	Access to market; provide NGOs with managerial tools and pedagogic ideas (especially in terms of VE provision)	Evoke the social responsibility of the corporations; encourage more job creation and equity principles for vulnerable youth.
General public in the North	Financial resource (i.e. public donation); supportive consensus; human resource (e.g. volunteers)	Educate the general public in support of change

* Table 9.1 is informed and adopted from empirical evidence in this case study, and justified by the work of Dufresne (1993), Uphoff (1995), Fisher (1998), ADB (2003), Ayres (2003), Neumayer (2005), Hughes (2007).

Overall, in this section I argue that an NGO VE service can not be resourceful, influential or sustainable in isolation. Instead, as a focal organization, an NGO's coordination and collaboration with other stakeholders must come to be seen as a prerequisite for effective resource mobilization. On the premise of a good balance existing between the inputs and outputs of an NGO's resource mobilization and relations to others, as profiled in Table 9.1, the prospect of encouraging a win-win rather than a zero-sum situation among stakeholders in the resource-dependent environment of Cambodia might look more convincing and realistic for sustaining a pedagogic environment where vulnerable young people's personalities, social and economic development are effectively promoted. This will be discussed in 9.3.

9.3 Reflection on Integrated Pedagogy in Vocational Education

Compared with the OECD countries, publicly-funded school-based technical education and formal vocational training institutes are rather fewer than training opportunities provided by both private sector and voluntary sector (e.g. NGO settings) in the developing world (King 2007). To take Cambodia as an example, just 0.7% of the country's labour force comes from publicly-provided vocational education (VE) institutes (Mahmood 2005) which are financially out of reach to the majority of vulnerable young Cambodians. Clearly, poor people in developing countries as a whole are still excluded from the major routes into vocational education and training, apart from some who find affordable access to NGOs' non-profit (or precisely, not-for-profit) VE services (King and Palmer 2007).

The ideas and efforts associated with NGO management described in the previous section (9.2) are intended to support and sustain VE pedagogical quality and relevance to vulnerable young people in Cambodia. Having rethought the NGOs' strategic role and tactics in 9.2 to manage supportive stakeholder relationships and their investment in VE intervention, the rationale for measuring the effectiveness of VE intervention in this research lies not only in the agreement and opinions of secondary stakeholders, but is ultimately derived from the learning outcomes, i.e. the employment and empowerment, of the primary stakeholders. As a matter of fact, concern for students' learning outcomes is the necessary indicator of educational effectiveness in this research and in many educational studies (Lum 2004; Creemers and Kyriakides 2008). It is of mounting importance for an NGO VE service to emphasize relations and interaction with its service beneficiaries (the 'primary stakeholders' or 'VE students')

in this research). Very often, the relation and interaction with service beneficiaries is geared and guided mainly by the service providers' VE pedagogical ideas and aspirations.

As far as VE pedagogy in Cambodia is concerned, some worthy goals in pursuit of pedagogical relevance and quality have been reviewed and clarified in Chapter 4. Based on the understanding of what desirable goals should be (MoLVT 2006), the Conceptual Framework in Figure 5.2 accordingly questions how those desirable goals might be achieved at the interface of a micro VE pedagogical practice with its macro educational and socio-economic context in Cambodia. Three *how*-questions (i.e. Research Question 4, 5 and 6) were already answered by my empirical findings in Chapter 7, and will be discussed in this section. On the one side, the discussion about how the six pedagogical constituents at the micro VE-service level (as found in Chapter 7) respond to the skill requirements of Cambodia's labour market will be put forward and justified by the existing literature in 9.3.1, i.e. to answer Research Question 4. On the other, how vulnerable young people are empowered through NGO VE provision, in relation to fundamental power issues in Cambodia as well as pedagogical solutions, will be taken into account in 9.3.2, i.e. to answer Research Questions 5 and 6. Owing to these, the concepts and contents of integrating pedagogy raised in Chapter 4 may be further expanded and theorised.

By and large, VE pedagogical practices at the micro level will have a more positive effect on students' employment and empowerment if the pedagogy is context-appropriate (Watson 1994; Powell 2006), and functions as a micro reaction to the Cambodian macro reality (as described in Chapter 2) where new skills requirements are emerging and the skills gap between demand and supply in the

country's labour market is widening, particularly in the garment and tourist industries. VE pedagogy may be delivered in a more sustainable and equitable way by an NGO. It becomes sustainable if the available public, private and donor-aided training resources are properly analyzed and mobilized for a vulnerable group, by information circulation, knowledge democratization, cost sharing and transmission to the workplace. It tends to be more equitable if many socio-economic roles that young people have to manage, such as care responsibilities and economic necessity for their families and community, are considered by VE pedagogy and simultaneously, a healing and caring process that addresses self-esteem and personality development is included. From the micro perspective, the focus of VE pedagogy is on addressing the needs of the primary stakeholders, equipping them with core tangible and intangible skills in the hope of transforming their economic and social situation in the specific Cambodian urban context.

9.3.1 Response to Skills Needs in the Labour Market

9.3.1.1 Motivation

When Schumacher (1993) spoke in London about the problem of unemployment in the developing world, he suggested four preconditions for external aid groups before they started any concrete intervention: firstly, motivation; then, skills and knowledge; thirdly capital, and finally a new demand or market. So far I have found new demands in the garment industry and tourism (in Chapter 2) and argued why NGOs might be an intermediary for transferring resources (in Chapters 3 and 6) and what relevant knowledge and skills are conveyed (in Chapters 4 and 7). What is missing in the majority of previous relevant studies, but in fact needs to come in first place, is motivation. As the VE service providers in my interviews put it, although economic

and social inequality is a visible issue by no means does it disturb everyone. To speak rigorously, the VE service works well only when service beneficiaries want to learn, and want to improve their own lives and patterns of living. The convergence of resources, knowledge dissemination and a new market needs to be triggered by motivation, and motivation is most likely to be galvanised by pedagogical relevance and quality. The pedagogical constituents ‘Relationship Development’ and ‘Rehabilitation’ are in particular the keys to motivating Cambodia’s traumatized young people from the outset. Accordingly, VE students may be expected to embrace at least three dimensions of motivation: one is the primitive dimension, which refers to humanitarian intuition or universal human conditions such as openness, love and trust in one another (Mauss 1954). Another is the informative dimension, whereby VE students’ behaviour is informed by specific socio-cultural norms; especially those youngsters who have been repatriated from trafficking or reintegrated from street life, and who need to learn how they are expected to behave in the Cambodian society which they belong to, how to context-appropriately situate and identify themselves within the community (Pugh, Elliott et al. 2006). The final one is the transformative dimension, which denotes a sense of hope that must be maintained by students so that they may rebuild their self-esteem and confidence, learning to speak up for themselves and for others faced with inequality and injustice.

Nevertheless, the needs and motivation of vulnerable young people at the outset of VE programmes are often overlooked in many international donors’ policies and publications, as in the work of the World Bank (Middleton, Zideman et al. 1993; Lauglo, Akyeampong et al. 2002; World Bank 2003), ILO (Corvalan 1984; Grierson and McKenzie 1996; ILO 2000; Riordan 2007) and UNESCO (Caillods 1989; Leonardos 1999; Bernard 2002; Singh 2002). These three multi-lateral donor agencies

have been the most influential in shaping Cambodia's policies on vocational training and education. Many of their suggestions and guidelines remain based on economic rather than pedagogical arguments (Watson 1994), and as a result lead VE practices to promote the direct relation between skills and competitiveness in the macro national (and very often, global) economy. Having acknowledged this, my empirical evidence suggests the importance of motivation. The latter, in turn, needs be catalysed by relevant and meaningful pedagogy. In addition to the constituents 'Relationship Development' and 'Rehabilitation', motivation is later encouraged, reinforced and sustained by two pedagogic constituents, 'Moral Involvement' and 'Know-how Acquisition' throughout the whole learning process, as discussed in the coming 9.3.1.2.

9.3.1.2 Employable Knowledge and Skills

What counts as 'employable knowledge and skills'? Precisely, what skills are required by the two fast-growing sectors in Cambodia, i.e. tourism and the garment industry (ADB 2006; World Bank 2007a)? Research by Prachvuthy (2006) systematically probed relevant tourist and business skills in the area surrounding Cambodia's world-known tourist site, Angkor Wat. Two communities were studied comparatively. One community was closer to Angkor Wat, whilst the other enjoyed better education and training opportunities. Prachvuthy found that relevant tourist and business skills (especially cooking and restaurant work, transport, handicrafts, English language and communication) rather than distance from the tourist sites mattered more to household income generation. Apart from Prachvuthy's research, the follow-up evidence in my case studies also point out that VE graduate students' skills and knowledge may not be sufficient on their own, but are definitely necessary for successful entry into the world

of work. The delivery of both tangible skills (grouped as the constituent ‘Know-how Acquisition’ in my study) and intangible skills (conceptualized as the constituents ‘Moral Involvement’, ‘Relationship Development’ and ‘Rehabilitation’) are particularly critical to the effectiveness of NGO VE intervention, as already evaluated in Chapter 8. In addition to being ready for employment with tangible skills, VE graduate students with intangible knowledge and attitudes (such as a pleasant personality, good values and a positive disposition) are found to please employers in the Cambodian economy where social relationship, personal links and trust have substituted for missing institutions (Murshid and Sokphally 2005).

The question of what and how to deliver employable knowledge and skills in the wake of globalisation has been carefully considered by many of the service providers that I interviewed. The garment industry, for instance, will continue to play a less profitable, outsourcing and downstream role in the global value chain if the importance of what skills to deliver is not re-addressed in order to fill the skill gap currently found in the Cambodia’s garment industry (EIC 2006). Cambodian young people are expected by the major garment manufacturers to be equipped with employable knowledge and skills such as marketing, fashion research, merchandising, product design, sourcing fabrics, finance and industrial relations. Manufacturers are however very much reliant on expatriate workers or parent offices back in Taiwan, Hong Kong, China or Korea (USAID 2006). In an era of globalisation, a meaningful and relevant VE service for vulnerable young people means more than teaching them how to carry out cut, make and trim operations. Encouraging them to learn in a lifelong process is no longer a new idea in developing countries in general, and Cambodia in particular (Corvalan 1984; ILO 2000; Bernard 2002; Torres 2002; World Bank 2003; Torres 2004; Oketch

2007). Being a lifelong learner does not guarantee lifelong employment, but rather being lifelong-employable; this means being able to access, collect, classify and analyse information from different sources, independently and/or collectively. It means a person able to update tangible and intangible skills with constant exposure to new ideas, aspirations and stimulation. It also means a person who knows how to enhance learning effectively, solve problems and generate knowledge. From the perspective of the VE students that I interviewed, the professional level and character, competence and commitment possessed by VE teachers and trainers ultimately plays a determining role (as role model and mentor) to convince VE students and stimulate their motivation to acquire more advanced knowledge (Leonardos 1999; Ravasco 2006).

Nonetheless, limited by NGO organisational capacity and cost considerations, the actual delivery of the above pedagogic vision in an adverse environment requires several different kinds of support via institutional connections and community-level networks, as already discussed in 9.2.2. Lessons learnt from vocationalised public education in Africa (King and Martin 2002; Lauglo, Akyeampong et al. 2002; Oketch 2007), formal vocational training centres in South-East Asia (Shaeffer 1997; Hallinger 1998) and life skills currently being introduced into primary and secondary schooling curricula in Cambodia (MoEYS 2004c; MoEYS 2005b), all suggest two pedagogic deficits in VE intervention in developing countries. One is the less able teaching staff. The other is that imparting specific, technical skills needs to be supplemented with generic skills: mainly, social skills and the core skills of literacy as well as numeracy. Historic divisions in delivering academic and vocational knowledge seem no longer appropriate in Cambodia. Furthermore, having witnessed the pedagogic practices in

the training restaurants of NGO₃, NGO₅ and NGO₉, the water purification plant of NGO₆ and the car repair shop of NGO₇ I understand that market simulation, i.e. learning in classrooms, also needs to be supplemented by the market itself (i.e. learning in workplaces), where VE students can be exposed to the ideas of business and those competencies relevant to a specific enterprise, and can build up personal enterprise networks (Grierson 1997). In my case study, VE service as an attempt to manage a support system for learning is obviously not a 'one size fits all' model, but is tailored to learners' diverse needs and specific situations. Education integrated with social work is operated in a real business environment, where the pedagogic constituents 'The Incentive' and 'The Consultative' must find a place to take care of VE students' economic, social and psychological needs throughout the whole of their learning process.

9.3.2 Empowering Environment

'Empowerment is the main objective of vocational training and education', stressed by the leading manager L08 in NGO₃ (in an interview on 2 March 2007). It is the emphasis on empowerment that distinguishes 'vocational education' (or its narrow term 'vocational training') from 'conditioning', and distinguishes 'training humans' from 'training puppets' (said by L08). Empowerment refers to developing personal confidence and identity, questioning and challenging the structural reasons for social and economic disparity, shaping decisions that affect our own lives, and better defending and improving our own livelihoods through learning and action (Lakes 1994; Oakley, Pratt et al. 1998; Ballantyne 2002; Cornwall 2004). Given the definitions of NGO VE service providers in my case study, empowerment means to stretch and magnify a student's vision, and subsequently, to develop their capacity to

realise their own vision. It also implies service providers' educational expectations to encourage their students' personal development, economic independence and becoming social role models, future leaders and change agents. These expectations show no significant difference from the definition and conceptualisation of empowerment analysed and deduced from the existing literature in Chapter 4, and are later found to be congruent with service beneficiaries' perception of their own changes as described in the case study. In fact, I observed that VE students' moral strength and socio-economic growth are very much inter-dependent and mutually-reinforced. Most of the NGOs in my study have created an equitable and caring environment where individual VE students could develop their own personality and 'moral intelligence' (Lakes 1994). At the intersection, VE students as 'moral practitioners' actively cross the boundaries between NGOs and communities, learn to get involved in social services such as voluntary service, and extend their influence on families, communities and the broader society. In this vein, empowerment could be seen as a micro process in response to macro dominant power and cultures. Empowerment is an important goal of NGO VE services, necessary so as to react to unequal power issues occurring in the Cambodian post-conflict reality which has been made worse by the country's collective trauma, poor human and social capital, increased corruption and a foreigner-dominated aid culture (as described in 7.2). On the other hand, empowerment calls for concrete methods to realise itself and thus, supports the concepts and practices of integrated VE pedagogy discussed in 4.4.

It is timely in this research to advocate a renewal of responsive and integrative VE pedagogy, as depicted in Figure 4.1 'Integrating pedagogy of vocational education serves individuals' employment and empowerment'. On the whole, I argue that the growth of the Cambodian garment industry and tourism may improve the employment

and empowerment of impoverished urban young people. This can be made possible if pedagogy is tailor-made to match education with the demands of the labour market, supporting the process of students' empowerment. The findings show that a cooperative and inclusive environment for learning and living is most effective in nurturing young people's learning and personal development, and to encourage them to be economically independent and become agents of social change. The idea is to provide opportunities to practice power, to ensure students' empowerment process – especially participating and experiencing, from the beginning and throughout the whole of their vocational education, and to let power emerge spontaneously in a cooperative and inclusive environment. To create such an environment, the six context-appropriate, pedagogic constituents separately embedded in three different physical learning settings -- i.e. playground, classroom and workshop (as a three-tier, synergistic approach of VE pedagogy) have shed light upon an integrative, holistic view of vocational education, and have proved the view to be both feasible and reliable.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

This Thesis starts with the real-life issues pertaining to the educational, economic and socio-cultural vulnerability of young people in Cambodia. *Educationally*, the national over-emphasis on general primary education in response to the Education for All (EFA) and UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially Goal Two of achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2015, has produced more ‘educated unemployed or under-employed youth’ in Cambodia. In contrast with the sound and prominent status of general education in current national development and educational policy papers (MoEYS 2004b; MoEYS 2005b; MoP 2006), governmental delivery of vocational education (VE) has long been overlooked, inadequately funded, disconnected from the skill demands of the labour market and, needless to say, inaccessible for the majority of unskilled young people (UNESCO 2004a; Iem 2007). *Economically*, the benefits of the country’s fast economic growth have been distributed unevenly, resulting in much higher inequality in urban areas than rural areas. Despite the greater income, Cambodia’s poverty rate still remains the highest within the ASEAN countries (World Bank 2007a; World Bank 2007b). Moreover, *socio-cultural* barriers, such as severe corruption, poor legal and juridical environment, familial responsibility and economic compulsion of young people often block their path to education and employment in the Cambodian urban context. In a country with a very young demographic structure and a labour force that is increasing rapidly year upon year, these educational, economic and socio-cultural issues in particular have permeated and influenced the lives and livelihoods of the poorer young people in Cambodia, creating a pressing need for intervention and resolution.

Given the national government's ineffectiveness in tackling the urgent issues described above, I suggest that NGOs must make an early response to the Cambodian macro reality in order to get vulnerable young people employed and empowered. NGOs are perceived by the general public in Cambodia as the most reliable service implementers, when compared with the national government, community officials, police, courts, media, banks and other development institutions (IRL 2007). To conceptualise my core research inquiry into what constitutes effectiveness (in both managerial and pedagogical terms) in NGOs' VE intervention to promote employment and empowerment for vulnerable young people in urban Cambodia, a conceptual framework (as in Figure 5.2) has been established. On one side, the framework informed by previous studies outlines the scope and scale of this doctoral research. On the other, the framework is underpinned particularly by the ideas and explanatory power of the micro perspective of Organisation Theory, i.e. those theories of contingency and resource dependency described in the Oxford Handbook of Organisation Theory (2003). Contingency and resource dependency theories have been recognised by many NGO management researchers such as Fowler (2002) and Lewis (2001, 2007) as the principal, most substantial and best appropriate analytic lens to investigate NGO-environment relations, to understand how an NGO might effectively adapt itself to an uncertain and resource-unfavourable environment, and further, to make an impact upon its wider task environment.

To better answer the core inquiry, a mainly qualitative, multiple-case research strategy investigating 9 NGOs in 4 Cambodian cities has accordingly been charted (in the methodological Chapter 5) to garner a broad range of empirical information and simultaneously gain an in-depth insight into each NGO VE service of case study. Several data collection techniques, including direct observation, participatory

observation, documentary collection, semi-structured interviews with both service providers and beneficiaries, and structured interviews to follow up the beneficiaries' learning outcomes have been employed in two separate periods of fieldwork. The strength of DCA modelling is relied upon here, to capture and illuminate the different levels of effectiveness of the 9 different NGO VE services. By finding empirical evidence in the field, I have been able to answer the sub-research questions (in 5.3), interact with the conceptual framework, provide theoretical implications, and eventually identify the potential for future study. In sum, the construction of this doctoral research has essentially been progressed on the basis of the following four research foci:

- (1) to understand the educational, economic and socio-cultural vulnerability of young people in Cambodia, with a call for agencies to meet their urgent need for employment and empowerment (in Chapter 2);
- (2) to gauge and clarify the organisational characteristics of NGOs and their distinct management in service provision in the specific context of Cambodia (in Chapters 3 and 6);
- (3) to conceptualise and compose the relevant VE pedagogy for employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people (in Chapters 4 and 7);
- (4) finally, to develop and implicate the effectiveness (in both managerial and pedagogical terms) of NGO VE intervention in Cambodia (in Chapters 8 and 9).

10.1 Summary of Findings

Having taken a purview of the overall Thesis, Sections 10.1.1, 10.1.2 and 10.1.3 provide a brief summary of the empirical findings in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 respectively.

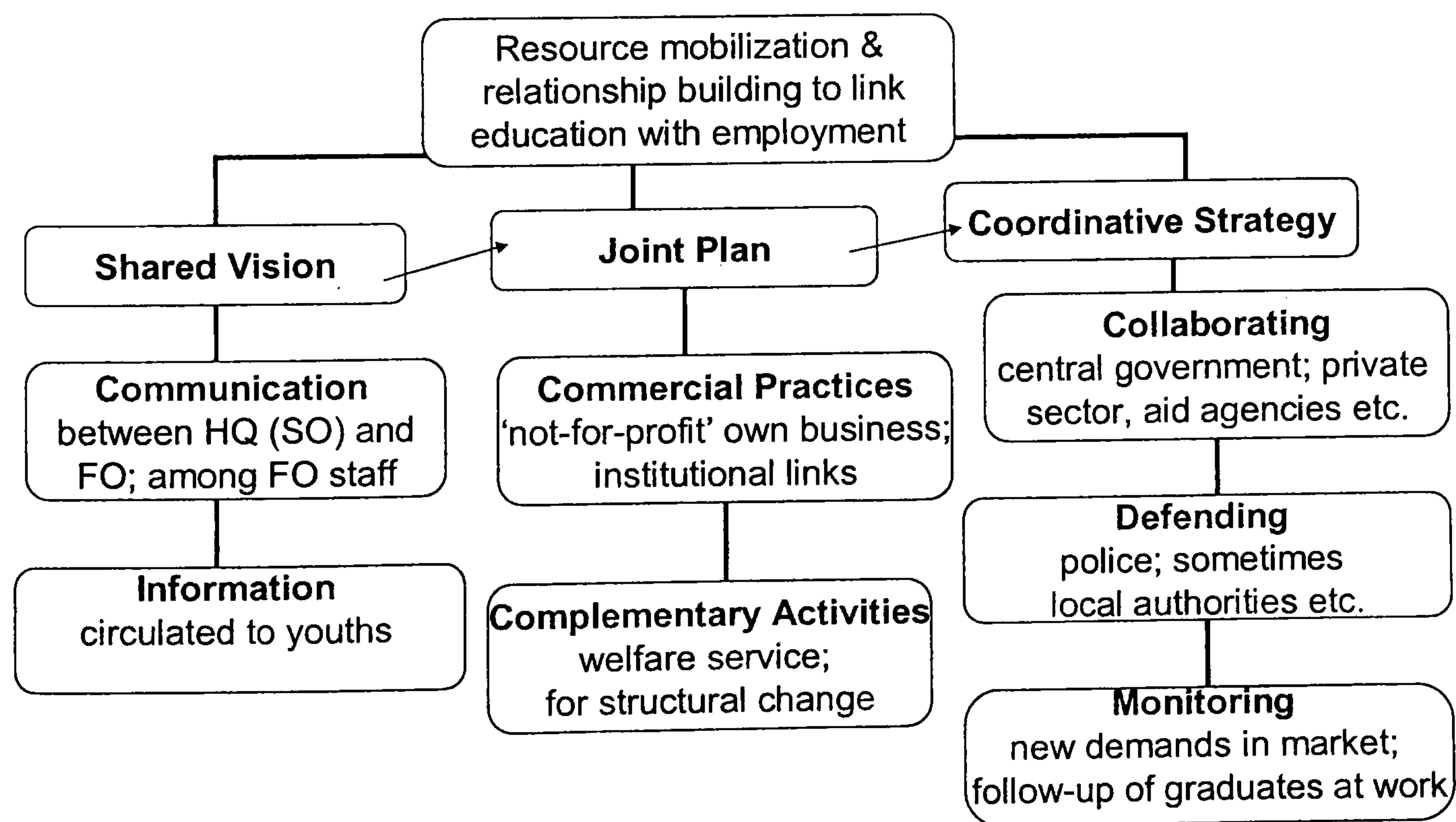
10.1.1 Managerial Aspect

With regard to the management NGOs in the student selection stage, I found that each NGO VE service has its own unspoken agenda on student selection. This agenda is grounded in the debate concerning how to select (clearly fixed vs. flexible procedure) and who to select (the potential vs. the poorer) in order to break the socioeconomic disparity in the operational locality. Managerial contradictions often appear between those whom the NGOs say that they select (i.e. the poorer and the hard-to-reach members of society) and those whom they actually select (i.e. those with potential). In the student employment stage, both external and internal determinants of linking graduate students with employment are to be found. The former refers to the degree of urban economic prosperity where the NGO is located, while the latter means the levels of the NGO's managerial efforts (especially resource mobilisation and institutional relationship building) to generate employment for graduate students. Both determinants, interwoven with the different unspoken agendas of selection policies of the 9 NGO VE services, lead to a variety of employment results. Correspondingly, the employment results are found to harmonise with the later DCA modelling results concerning the effectiveness of each VE service, seen in 10.1.3.

To manage VE students' educational and training stages, I also found that 7 managerial constituents appear to be most important to an effective NGO VE service and sustaining the pedagogical environment described in 10.1.2. As shown in Figure

10.1, an effective managerial mechanism has its roots in the principle of linking education with employment. The principle suggests that NGO managers need clear, focused ideas at the outset, and must pursue those ideas coherently throughout the whole of the management process; otherwise resources will be wasted, and it will cost more to provide a remedy at the end. This means it is necessary to ensure that every single box (in Figure 10.1) revolves around the same idea, which is to link education with employment. According to the vision agreed and negotiated internally among service providers and beneficiaries, joint plans should be carefully made and complement one another. At the same time, managerial strategies need to be developed that will tackle the external relationships and challenges that NGOs face in implementing their VE services.

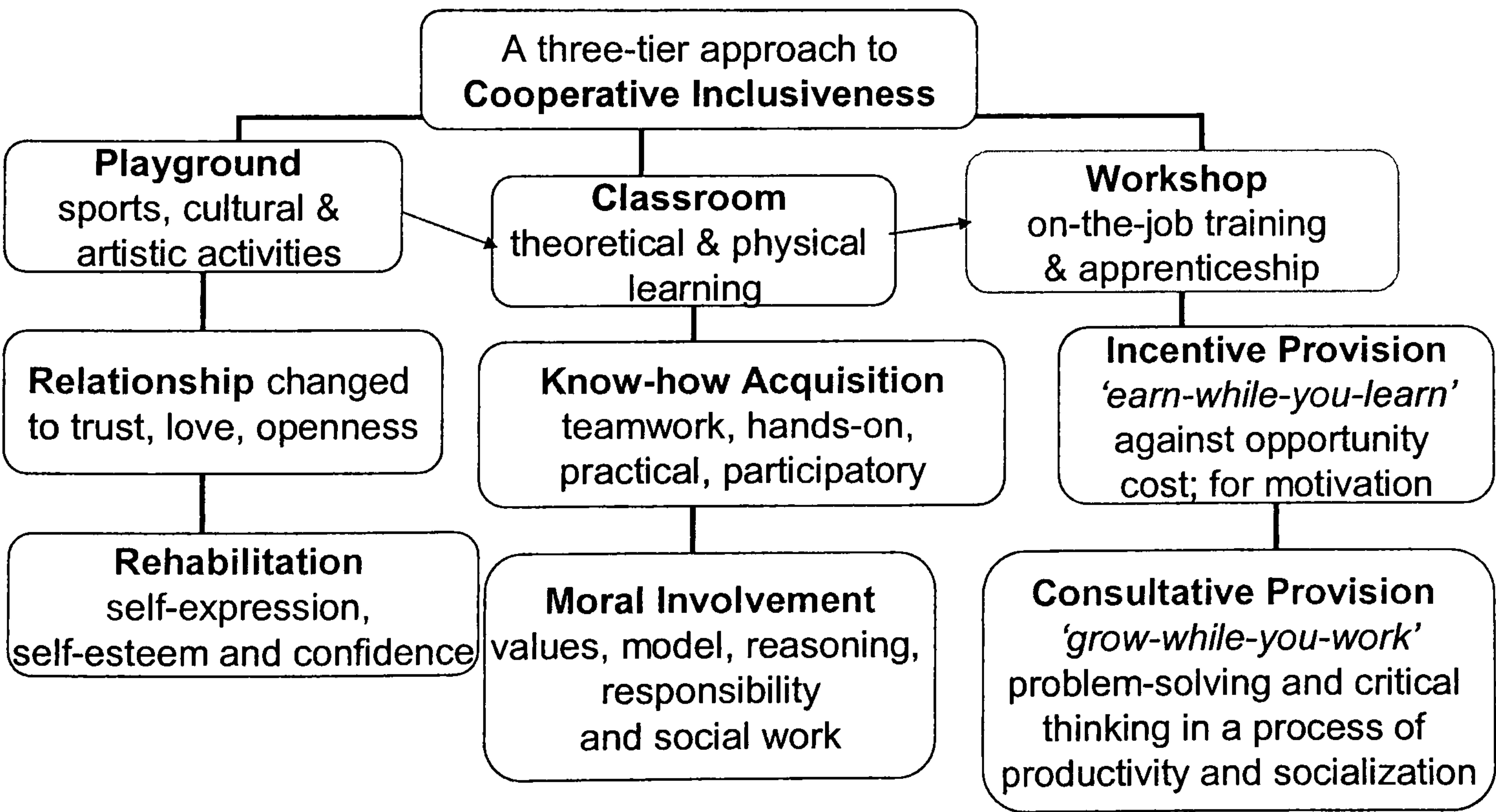
Figure 10.1: Seven managerial constituents of an effective NGO VE service



10.1.2 Pedagogical Aspect

There also emerge 6 most crucial pedagogical components that directly enable and equip VE students for employment and empowerment in this cross-case study. I found that a cooperative and inclusive environment which discriminates against no-one in the learning process is most effective to nurture young people’s personalities and performance. As shown in Figure 10.2, six pedagogic constituents separately embedded in three different physical learning settings have been found to create such environment. The constituents occur along with a space-time matching process, gradually moving from the informal setting (i.e. *playground*), to the formal setting (i.e. *classroom*) and then to the practical venue (i.e. *workshop*) helping cross the boundary between the protection afforded by the NGO and the realities of a working life.

Figure 10.2: Six pedagogical constituents of an effective NGO VE service



Rather than simply giving power to, or handing power over, the overall educational idea of empowerment is to involve vulnerable young people at an early stage to practise power through activities, and let power spontaneously emerge on their side in

a cooperative and inclusive environment. It is to ensure the students' empowerment process – especially participation and experience, from the beginning and continuing throughout the whole of their vocational education. Empowerment in NGO VE service providers' definitions is to broaden students' visions, and to develop their capacity so as to realise their own wishes; in other words, to promote the service beneficiaries' personal development, economic independence and social role models, together with future leaders and change agents. The direct feedback gathered from the interviews with service beneficiaries affirms that there appears to be a positive consistency between the service providers' definitions and the service beneficiaries' perception of their own changes. Although in reality NGOs' foreigner-dominant culture is favoured by their international support organisations or overseas headquarters, and has thus become an inevitable phenomenon, the impact of service providers' cultural bias and cultural conflicts upon the localisation of a NGO in general and the empowerment of service beneficiaries in particular might possibly be reduced. That reduction could be made, and the imbalanced power relationship between service beneficiaries and others transformed into more equal terms, if NGO service providers were more aware of this and able to reject an aid culture where they currently enjoy a higher status.

10.1.3 Towards an Effective NGO VE Intervention

Taken from the managerial and pedagogical findings in 10.1.1 and 10.1.2, the effectiveness of NGOs' intervention in vocational education (VE) could be further investigated and conceptualized on the basis of the following two ideas:

First to adopt the 'Dynamic Concept Analysis (DCA)' approach, in order to model the

9 NGO VE services. By doing so, the different levels of effectiveness of the 9 organizational models could be compared, and the inter-relations as well as relative importance of the 13 constituents within the 9 models analyzed (mainly, from the viewpoint of these as service providers). Accordingly I find that tactical success, as far as the emphasis on individual constituents is concerned, is less meaningful if it does not contribute to a wholesome, strategic victory, i.e. to support and complement constituents in fostering VE students' social and economic equality. Without consistent relations among the constituents, each constituent would only exist in its own right. In addition, in general managerial constituents play supportive roles for pedagogic constituents, rather than the other way around. More pedagogic constituents are placed in the central position of the 9 NGO models and have a direct influence upon the students' acquisition of many tangible and intangible skills.

The *next* idea is to examine the impact of the managerial and pedagogical constituents on service beneficiaries' work performance. It will help to demonstrate the changes that they experience before and after graduation, proffers some implications for their learning outcomes in both employment and empowerment and in turn, suggests the relative importance of the constituents - principally, from the service users' viewpoint. Graduate students' work performance is found to benefit more from intangible skills involving personal development and social practices (e.g. Constituents 'relationship development', 'rehabilitation' and 'moral involvement') than from tangible skills (e.g. Constituent 'know-how acquisition'). Having taken the service beneficiaries' actual performance at workplaces into consideration, I found that an effective NGO VE intervention is grounded in a greater emphasis being placed upon the following constituents: 'know-how acquisition', 'moral involvement', 'information circulation', 'rehabilitation', 'relationship development' and 'incentive provision'. The first four

constituents along with ‘consultative provision’ are the most important five constituents found in the DCA modeling process; notwithstanding that from the service users’ perspective, ‘relationship development’ is of the most importance and value at work, in comparison with other 12 constituents. ‘Consultative provision’, on the other hand, is the fragile element in the overall NGO VE intervention strategy, and demands more attention and resources in order to improve.

10.2 Implications of Results

Preceded by a summary of the findings, this section turns to illustrate concisely how the findings reinforce or challenge the existing literature and theories in relation to NGO management and VE pedagogy in the ‘developing’ world (as discussed in Chapter 9). I believe that the managerial and pedagogic findings in this research could not only bring out ideas and evidences to the educational planning and implementation of international donors, the Cambodian government, NGO managers and vocational educators, but also contribute to the development work regarding the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young people in other environments. The latter, overtly, occurs as the central theme of a recent World Bank annual report, entitled ‘*World Development Report 2007: Development and Next Generation*’ (2006).

10.2.1 NGOs as Middle Managers

Scattered over the current main stream of NGO management studies, their research focuses lie in either the discussion about organisational identity and identification of NGOs (Fernando and Heston 1997; Lewis and Wallace 2000), or relations of NGOs to other development actors in contingent ‘developing’ environments and transitional

societies (Edwards and Hulme 1992; Heyzer, Riker et al. 1995; Clayton 1996; Hulme and Edwards 1997; Kamat 2002), or fund raising and resource mobilisation (Bennett and Gibbs 1996), or accountable performance (Edwards and Hulme 1996; Oakley, Pratt et al. 1998), or general introduction to both organisational and operational aspects of NGO management (Billis and MacKeith 1993; Fowler and Pratt 1997; Suzuki 1998; Lewis 2001; Lewis 2003; Lewis 2007). For my tendency to further bring them together, the managerial findings in this research support my overall argument that NGOs could be managed in a more effective way if they were re-oriented towards the role of middle managers (i.e. intermediaries) requiring middle management techniques in the resource-dependency aid chain on the one hand, and in the contingent 'developing' countries on the other. The strategic position is clarified and firmly fixed, so that NGO organizational strength might better intersect its macro context. In doing so, an NGO may possibly gain influence beyond its organizational constraints, and accordingly direct and deploy practical tactics to build up many linkages, mobilize necessary resources and fulfil its specific mission and development tasks.

In addition, the empirical evidence also contributes to the explanatory power of Organisation Theory (particularly, its sub-theories of contingency theory and resource dependency) that has offered a substantial analytical lens for NGO effectiveness in this study. Firstly, while *contingency theory* acknowledges that 'change' and 'uncertainty' might be a source of either risk or creativity, and direct an organization to being in greater jeopardy or innovative hope (Morgan 1997; Tsoukas and Knudsen 2003), it does not address what determines the either-or direction. The NGOs in my multiple-case study however suggest that it is the strategic role of middle managers (i.e. intermediaries) that may serve to so determine. Situated in the middle of the long

aid chain, an organisation (e.g. NGO) might faster respond to and cope with environmental uncertainty as well as changes, and consequently, result in higher effectiveness. Secondly, *resource dependency theory* is reinforced, because some NGOs in my case study gain the comparative advantages of being a service implementer at the local (community) level, while their role is by no means to give up the intent and support of making social and structural changes in a broader (national and global) context. A negotiating space for social changes could be created by NGOs, since NGOs' role as service implementers is very unlikely substitutable (in the resource-dependent terms) to the Cambodian government and international donor agencies. Also, the flow of resourcing the poorer young people directly via NGOs' service provision decides that it is the poor who are directly empowered.

10.2.2 Integrated VE Pedagogy

While lessons have been learnt from vocationalized public education in Africa (King and Martin 2002; Lauglo, Akyeampong et al. 2002; Oketch 2007), formal vocational training centres in South-East Asia (Shaeffer 1997; Hallinger 1998) and life skills recently introduced into primary and secondary schooling curricula in Cambodia (MoEYS 2004c; MoEYS 2005b), the historic division in disseminating academic and vocational knowledge in Cambodia in specific and the 'developing' world in general seems no longer appropriate. The idea of blurring the boundary between general education and vocational education in poor countries is definitely not a new one (Singh 2005). My pedagogy evidence further supports and advocates such an integrated stance, especially when bearing in mind that there are two main educational objectives for NGOs' intervention in vocational education (VE) in Cambodia:

One objective is for vulnerable young people to acquire employable knowledge and skills. While both tangible and intangible skills are specified in this study, the intangible ones have been found especially critical to a young person's employability. VE graduate students with intangible knowledge and attitudes (e.g. good personality, values and disposition) are found to please employers in the Cambodian economy where social relationship, personal links and trust have substituted for missing institutions (Murshid and Sokphally 2005). This punctuates the skills demand of the labour market: specific, technical skills not only need be identified and re-identified, but have to be supplemented with generic and social skills, socio-cultural understanding of the world, personality and morality development and in short, being empowered.

The other VE objective is the empowerment of vulnerable young people. According to the definitions given by the NGO VE service providers in my case study, empowerment refers to encouraging their students' personal development, economic independence and social role models, future leadership and change agents. In fact, it is the educational aim of empowerment that distinguishes 'vocational education' (or its narrower term 'vocational training') from 'conditioning', and distinguishes 'training humans' from 'training puppets' (as it was described by interviewee L08). Most NGOs in my study demonstrated how they have facilitated VE students to develop their personality and 'moral intelligence' (Lakes 1994). Further, VE students being 'moral practitioners' actively cross the boundaries between NGOs and the outside world, learn to get involved in social welfare services, and engender their influence on families, communities and the broader society. In the premise that VE students' moral strength and socio-economic growth are inter-dependent and mutually-reinforced, a holistic and integrating view on VE pedagogy becomes more important in order to

make a synthetic, synergistic effect on a young person's employment and empowerment. To do so, the six context-appropriate, pedagogic constituents separately embedded in three different physical learning settings -- i.e. playground, classroom and workshop in the case study have been supportive of the integrating view on VE pedagogy, and proved not just desirable, but also useful and feasible.

10.3 Research Limitations and Possibility for Further Study

My awareness of some limitations in the research design, and responsive improvements for any further study will be raised in this section. I believe that the overall methodological competence presented in the Thesis has been sufficient to answer the core and sub research questions, and is congruent with my research rationale. To be precise, the Thesis is rationally grounded in order to stand side by side with NGO VE services and accordingly, from the organisational perspective, it seeks to make an effective impact upon the employment and empowerment of vulnerable young Cambodians in the wider task environment. Notwithstanding, a few constraints (as listed below) in the research design have been identified, and indicate where certain potential improvements and areas of interest for some relevant future study may lie.

First of all, there is the absence of comprehensive perspectives and direct dialogue with NGOs' secondary stakeholders (e.g. business employers, international donor agencies, the Cambodian central government and local authorities) in the same task environment. As discussed in Chapter 9, a changing and transitional society such as

Cambodia could be better captured in the understanding and mapping of different stakeholders' various interests, actions, demands and resources. Nonetheless, using the present research strategy I did not directly interview those secondary stakeholders, but used secondary and documentary sources to identify their stances, resources and interests; and often, by using the experience and perceptions provided by the NGO service providers. Very strictly speaking, in this research the main development tasks and real-life issues associated with vulnerable young people's employment and empowerment in Cambodia have been primarily comprehended from the organisational perspective (including service providers' and beneficiaries' perception and viewpoints) rather than from a wider range of perspectives.

Another methodological limitation concerns the interviews with service beneficiaries in the case study. Apart from NGO₁ and NGO₂, no VE students from the other seven NGOs in the case study were interviewed in both periods of fieldwork (2006 and 2007 separately). This may have limited my examination of the effectiveness of those seven NGOs, and thus require further research into their students' performance before and after graduation.

The third consideration lies in the technical constraints of DCA (Dynamic Concept Analysis) for characterising each concept (i.e. constituent). In the current version of the DCA computerised programme, each concept is only allowed to have three attributes (i.e. characteristics), even though the diverse characteristics of a constituent might not be fully covered by only three attributes. As discussed in Chapter 8, DCA is the most appropriate and useful modelling tool in this study for the theoretical, methodological, contextual and organisational reasons. Nevertheless, the use of DCA to systematically and synthetically conceptualise (and to reflect upon my subjective

understanding of each NGO in the case study) may have been at the expense of simplification of interpreting qualitative data. This constraint suggests the possibility of improving upon the DCA software in the future.

Finally, what has been found from the research in this Thesis that is of potential importance and relevance to my target group (i.e. vulnerable urban young people) is the need to consider employment issues within the agricultural sector, and rural development generally, in Cambodia; in other words it would be worth expanding the conceptual framework, in any further study. Apart from garment production and tourism, Cambodia's national economic growth strategy has also sought to target agriculture. Agriculture has a traditional status as the seedbed for surplus labour, and occupies approximately three quarters of the country's labour force. Even though agriculture and rural development play a crucial role in the national economy, they were outside the scope of this research and hence their relationships with urbanisation, with poorer urban young people, and with employment opportunities, remain to be studied at some future date.

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Appendix A: Semi-structured interview questions (with service providers) in the first fieldwork

Q1: What are your tradition, expectation, development visions and objectives of the VE intervention?

Q2: What are the strength and weakness of current course design and learning-teaching methods? For the weakness, how do you intend to improve it?

Q3: How do you manage the VE service, in terms of its (1) selection stage, (2) education and training stage, and (3) enterprise stage?

Q4: What are economic, administrative and socio-cultural barriers of the beneficiaries to getting employed or self-employed in the cities?

Q5: How do you help overcome the barriers and mobilize resources for the beneficiaries?

Q6: What is your definition and philosophy of empowerment? Accordingly, how to empower the beneficiaries?

Appendix B: Semi-structured interview questions (with service beneficiaries -- current students) in the first fieldwork

Q1: Please recall your learning experience in the VE course, what makes you feel happy to learn? In other words, what helps you learn faster, easier and better?

Q2: What jobs would you like to do after graduation from this course?

Q3: What kinds of knowledge, skills and attitude are very important for doing those jobs (which you just mentioned)?

Q4: What significant changes have there been in you since your participation in the NGO vocational education activities?

Appendix C: Observation objectives (in the first fieldwork)

- (1) teaching-learning methods, learning processes and activities in class or any learning settings;
- (2) performance of teachers and students (e.g. attitudes, expression and participation) in class or any learning settings;
- (3) management of building up institutional relationships and mobilizing resources;
- (4) interaction and relationships among managers, teaching and non-teaching staff and students.

Appendix D: Incomplete DCA information matrix of NGO VE service in Cambodia

Constituents	Attributes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
1.Relationship	1a trustful	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	1n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	1b suspicious	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
2.Rehabilitation	2a central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	2n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	2b non-central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
3.Moral	3a central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	3n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	3b non-central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
4.Know-how	4a excellence	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	4n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	4b survival	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
5.Incentive	5a central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	5n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	5b non-central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
6.Consultative	6a central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	6n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	6b non-central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
7.Communication	7a active	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	7n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	7b passive	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
8.Information	8a circulative	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	8n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	8b restrictive	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
9.Commercial	9a central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	9n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	9b non-central	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
10.Complementary	10a welfare	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	10n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	10b structural	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
11.Collaborating	11a cooperative	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	11n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	11b isolative	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
12.Defending	12a active	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	12n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	12b passive	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
13.Monitoring	13a active	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	13n neutral	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b
	13b passive	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b	a	n	b

Note: each cell indicates the relationship between two constituents.

Appendix E: Observing objectives (in the second fieldwork)

In order to examine the relationships of 15 constituents towards students' learning outcomes (i.e. employment and empowerment), 11 observing objectives are therefore designed. **Item 1** refers to general observation of graduate students' learning outcomes. **Item 2-7** are listed, for observing the relative influence of the pedagogic constituents upon learning outcomes. **Item 8-11** regard the relative importance of the managerial constituents.

1. Observe graduates' overall work performance.
2. Observe graduates' relationships at workplaces.
3. Observe graduates' confidence and attitude at workplaces.
4. Observe how graduates help others, face problems and value things at work.
5. Observe if graduates do the jobs the same as what they were trained for.
6. Observe if graduates are motivated and satisfied with income and work.
7. Observe if NGO still keeps in touch with graduates and helps solve problems at work.
8. Observe how graduates express their opinions to NGO teachers and managers.
9. Observe how graduates express their opinions to people having higher status (e.g. boss, employer) at work.
10. Observe how graduates access to update information about further study and job opportunities.
11. Observe if graduates have received any support from NGO, since their graduation.

If yes, what is the support?

Appendix F: Questionnaire (in the second fieldwork)

This questionnaire aims to understand the relationship of vocational education with graduate students’ employment and empowerment.

In the first section (**I. Basic Information**), please provide your answers in the blank areas. In the second section (**II. Questions**), there are only 11 questions (**Q1-Q11**). **Q1-Q10** are presented in the form of statements. You please respond to each statement by circling one of these five: **5 (= strongly agree)**; **4 (= agree)**; **3 (= neutral or undecided)**; **2 (= disagree)**; **1 (= strongly disagree)**. For **Q11**, please also write down your answer, if any.
Thank you so much for your participation.

I, Basic Information

- * Gender: _____
- * Age: _____
- * Employment Start Date: _____
- * Employer (name of companies, manufactories etc) and Address: _____

- * Occupation Title: _____
- * Monthly Income: _____
- * Duty Description:

II. Questions

For each question, please circle one response which you think is most appropriate:

5 = strongly agree; 4 = agree; 3 = neutral or undecided ;

2 = disagree; 1 = strongly disagree

<u>No.</u>	<u>Questions</u>	<u>Responses</u>				
Q1	My personal relationships with others help my performance at work.	5	4	3	2	1
Q2	My self-confidence helps my performance at work.	5	4	3	2	1
Q3	I apply what I learnt in moral education to my work.	5	4	3	2	1
Q4	I apply what I learnt in technical courses to my work.	5	4	3	2	1
Q5	Current income motivates me to work.	5	4	3	2	1
Q6	Since graduation, NGO has helped me to solve problems at work.	5	4	3	2	1
Q7	I am not afraid to express my opinions to NGO teachers and managers.	5	4	3	2	1
Q8	I am not afraid to express my opinions to people having higher status (e.g. manager, employer) at work.	5	4	3	2	1
Q9	I access a lot of up-to-date information about further study and job opportunities.	5	4	3	2	1
Q10	My previous business practice at NGO helps my work performance now.	5	4	3	2	1
Q11	If appropriate, please describe any important support received from NGO in your work and life:	<hr/>				

Appendix G: DCA information matrix of NGO VE service in Cambodia

Constituents	Attributes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.Relationship	1a trustful	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	1n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	1b suspicious	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
2.Rehabilitation	2a central	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	2n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	2b non-central	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
3.Moral	3a central	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	3n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	3b non-central	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
4.Know-how	4a excellence	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	4n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	4b survival	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
5.Incentive	5a central	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	5n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	5b non-central	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
6.Consultative	6a central	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	6n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	6b non-central	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
7.Communication	7a active	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	7n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	7b passive	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
8.Information	8a circulative	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	8n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	8b restrictive	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
9.Commercial	9a central	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	9n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	9b non-central	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
10.Complementary	10a welfare	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	10n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	10b structural	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
11.Collaborating	11a cooperative	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	11n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	11b isolative	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
12.Defending	12a active	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	12n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	12b passive	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
13.Monitoring	13a active	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
	13n neutral	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	13b passive	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b

Appendix H: Statements of DCA inter-relations between constituents in NGO VE services

Each cell in the matrix gives a statement indicating a one-way relation (i.e. Type-2 relation) from one constituent to another constituent in question. For example, 'Cell 1/2' indicates a one-way relation from *Constituent 2 (i.e. Rehabilitation)* to *Constituent 1 (i.e. Relationship)*.

* equal to the cell in the information matrix (as in Appendix D).

indicates a **trend towards a relation as stated.

Constituent 1: Relationship (trustful -- neutral -- suspicious)

cell*

1/2 The greater self-esteem and self-expression of students, the greater relationship of students towards NGO staff and youthful peers.

1/3 The greater the stress on moral involvement of students, the better relationship of students towards NGO staff and youthful peers.

1/4** A greater emphasis on excellence in students' performance tends to be associated with a greater stress on relationship of students towards NGO staff and youthful peers.

1/5 No relationship (*No direct link is postulated from 'Incentive' to 'Relationship'*)

1/6 The greater stress on consultative provision, the greater relationship of students towards NGO staff and youthful peers.

1/7** A greater stress on staff communication tends to be associated with a greater stress on relationship of students towards NGOs staff and youthful peers.

1/8 No relationship

1/9 No relationship

1/10 The more complementary activities towards welfare service, the greater relationship of students toward NGO staff and youthful peers.

1/11 No relationship

1/12 No relationship

1/13 No relationship

Constituent 2: Rehabilitation (central – neutral – non-central)

cell

- 2/1 The better relationship of students towards NGO staff and youthful peers, the greater the development of their self-esteem and self-expression.
- 2/3 The greater the stress on moral involvement of students, the greater the development of their confidence, self-esteem and self-expression.
- 2/4 The more the emphasis on excellence in students' performance, the more the development of their confidence.
- 2/5 The more the emphasis on provision of incentive opportunities, the more the development of students' confidence.
- 2/6 The more the stress on consultative provision, the more the development of students' confidence.
- 2/7** A greater stress on staff communication tends to be associated with a greater stress on the development of students' confidence, self-esteem and self-expression.
- 2/8 No relationship
- 2/9 No relationship
- 2/10 No relationship
- 2/11 No relationship
- 2/12 No relationship
- 2/13 No relationship

Constituent 3: Moral Involvement (central – neutral – non-central)

cell

- 3/1 The greater the emphasis upon students' relationship towards NGO staff and youthful peers, the greater the moral involvement of students.
- 3/2** A greater emphasis upon students' rehabilitation tends to reinforce their greater moral involvement.
- 3/4 No relationship
- 3/5** A more stress upon the provision of incentive opportunities tends to sustain the moral involvement of students.
- 3/6 The more emphasis upon consultative provision, the greater moral involvement of students.
- 3/7 The greater communication among NGO staff, the greater stress upon students' moral involvement.
- 3/8 No relationship
- 3/9 No relationship
- 3/10 No relationship

- 3/11 The more stress upon collaborating strategies, the more support of students' moral involvement.
- 3/12 No relationship
- 3/13 The more emphasis upon monitoring strategy, the more support of students' moral involvement.

Constituent 4: Know-how Acquisition (excellence – neutral – survival)

cell

- 4/1 The more the stress upon relationship of students towards NGO staff and youthful peers, the greater the students' performance towards excellence.
- 4/2 The greater emphasis upon student rehabilitation, the greater students' performance towards excellence.
- 4/3 The greater stress on moral involvement of students, the greater their performance towards excellence.
- 4/5 The greater stress on incentive provision, the greater students' performance towards excellence.
- 4/6 The greater emphasis on consultative provision, the greater students' performance towards excellence.
- 4/7 The more stress upon communication among staff, the greater students' performance towards excellence.
- 4/8** A greater stress upon information circulated to students tends to encourage a greater students' performance towards excellence.
- 4/9 The greater stress upon students' commercial practices, the greater students' performance towards excellence.
- 4/10 The greater stress on complementary activities towards welfare service, the greater students' performance towards excellence.
- 4/11 The more emphasis on collaborating strategies, the more support of students' performance towards excellence.
- 4/12 No relationship
- 4/13 The more emphasis on monitoring strategies, the more support of students' performance towards excellence.

Constituent 5: Incentive (central – neutral – non-central)

cell

- 5/1 No relationship
- 5/2 No relationship
- 5/3 No relationship

- 5/4 No relationship
- 5/6 No relationship
- 5/7 No relationship
- 5/8 No relationship
- 5/9** A greater stress on students' commercial practices tends to be associated with a greater stress place upon incentive provision.
- 5/10 No relationship
- 5/11 The more emphasis upon collaborating strategy, the more support of incentive provision to students.
- 5/12 No relationship
- 5/13 The more stress upon monitoring strategy, the more support of incentive provision to students.

Constituent 6: Consultative (central – neutral – non-central)

cell

- 6/1** A greater stress upon relationship of students towards NGO staff and youthful peers tends to reinforce the consultative function.
- 6/2** A greater stress upon rehabilitation of students tends to reinforce the consultative function.
- 6/3** A greater stress on moral involvement tends to reinforce the consultative function.
- 6/4** A greater stress on student performance towards excellence tends to be associated with a greater stress on consultative function.
- 6/5 No relationship
- 6/7 The greater stress on communication among NGO staff, the better the consultative function.
- 6/8 No relationship
- 6/9** A more emphasis on students' commercial practices tends to be associated with a better consultative function.
- 6/10 No relationship
- 6/11** A more emphasis upon cooperative strategy tends to support consultative provision.
- 6/12 No relationship
- 6/13 The greater stress on monitoring strategy, the greater consultative provision.

Constituent 7: Communication (active – neutral – passive)

cell

- 7/1 No relationship
- 7/2 No relationship
- 7/3 No relationship
- 7/4 No relationship
- 7/5 No relationship
- 7/6 No relationship
- 7/8 No relationship
- 7/9 No relationship
- 7/10 No relationship
- 7/11 No relationship
- 7/12 No relationship
- 7/13 No relationship

Constituent 8: Information (circulative – neutral – restrictive)

cell

- 8/1 The greater relationship of students towards NGO staff and youthful peers, the more information circulation to students.
- 8/2** A greater rehabilitation of students tends to be associated with a greater degree of information circulation.
- 8/3** A greater stress on moral involvement of students tends to be associated with a greater degree of information circulation.
- 8/4** A more emphasis upon students' performance towards excellence tends to be associated with a greater degree of information circulation.
- 8/5 No relationship
- 8/6 The more the emphasis upon consultative provision, the more information circulation.
- 8/7** A greater stress on staff communication tends to be associated with a greater degree of information circulation.
- 8/9** A more stress upon commercial practices tends to circulate more information to students.
- 8/10** A more emphasis on complementary activities towards welfare service tends to circulate more information to students.
- 8/11 No relationship
- 8/12 No relationship
- 8/13 No relationship

Constituent 9: Commercial Practices (central – neutral – non-central)

cell

9/1 No relationship

9/2 No relationship

9/3 No relationship

9/4 No relationship

9/5 No relationship

9/6 No relationship

9/7 The greater communication among NGO staff, the greater support of students' commercial practices.

9/8 No relationship

9/10 No relationship

9/11 The greater emphasis on collaborating strategy, the more support of students' commercial practices.

9/12 No relationship

9/13 The greater stress on monitoring strategy, the more support of students' commercial practices.

Constituent 10: Complementary Projects (welfare – neutral – structural)

cell

10/1 No relationship

10/2 No relationship

10/3 No relationship

10/4 No relationship

10/5 No relationship

10/6 No relationship

10/7** A greater stress on staff communication tends to be associated with a greater emphasis on complementary activities towards welfare service.

10/8 No relationship

10/9 No relationship

10/11** A greater emphasis on collaborating strategy tends to be associated with a stress upon complementary activities for structural change.

10/12 The greater stress on defending strategy, the more complementary activities towards welfare service.

10/13** A more stress on monitoring strategy tends to be associated with a more emphasis on complementary activities towards welfare service.

Constituent 11: Collaborating Strategy (cooperative – neutral – isolative)

cell

11/1 No relationship

11/2 No relationship

11/3 No relationship

11/4 No relationship

11/5 No relationship

11/6 No relationship

11/7 No relationship

11/8 No relationship

11/9 No relationship

11/10 No relationship

11/12 No relationship

11/13 The more the stress upon monitoring strategy, the more the support of collaborating strategy.

Constituent 12: Defending Strategy (active – neutral – passive)

cell

12/1 No relationship

12/2 No relationship

12/3 No relationship

12/4 No relationship

12/5 No relationship

12/6 No relationship

12/7 No relationship

12/8 No relationship

12/9 No relationship

12/10 No relationship

12/11 The more the stress upon collaborating strategy, the more the support of defending strategy.

12/13 The more stress upon monitoring strategy, the greater support of defending strategy.

Constituent 13: Monitoring Strategy (active – neutral – passive)

cell

13/1 No relationship

13/2 No relationship

13/3 No relationship

13/4 No relationship

13/5 No relationship

13/6 No relationship

13/7 No relationship

13/8 No relationship

13/9 No relationship

13/10 No relationship

13/11 The more the stress upon cooperative strategy, the greater the support of
monitoring strategy

13/12 No relationship

